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Hakluytus Posthumus
or
Purchas His Pilgrimes

In Twenty Volumes

Volume XVIII

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Hakluytus Posthumus

or

Purchas His Pilgrimes

Contayning a History of the World
in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells
by Englishmen and others

By

SAMUEL PURCHAS, B.D.

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VOLUME XVIII

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THE EIGHTEENTH VOLUME

OF

Purchas His Pilgrimes

Contayning Voyages to and Land-Travels in Florida, Virginia and other parts of the Northerne America. French Plantings, Spanish Supplantings, English-Virginian Voyages & to the Islands Azores, with the Description of Virginia

§. II.

Sotos further Discoveries in Florida and manifold various Adventures till hee came to Tulla.

THe Governour departed from Cutifa Chiqui the third day of May. And because the Indians had revolted, and the will of the Ladie was perceived, that if shee could, shee would depart without giving any Guides or men for burdens, for the wrongs which the Christians had done to the Indians: (for there never want some among many of a base sort, that for a little gaine doe put themselves and others in danger of undoing.) The Governour commanded her to be kept in safegard, and carried with him, not with so good usage as shee deserved for the good will she shewed. And he carried her on foot with his bond-women to looke unto her. In all the Townes where the Governour passed, the Lady commanded the Indians to come and carrie the burdens from one Towne to another. Wee passed through her Countrie an hundred leagues, in which, as wee saw, shee was much obeyed. For the Indians did all that shee commanded them with great efficacie and diligence. In seven dayes space the Governour came to a Province called Chalaque, the poorest Countrie of Maiz that was seene in Florida. The Indians fed upon Roots and Herbes which they seeke in the fields, and upon wilde beasts, which they kill with their Bowes and Arrowes: and it is a very gentle people. All of them goe naked, and are very leane. There was a Lord, which for a great Present, brought the Governour two Deeres

Baggage of the Campe.

[IV. viii. 1539.]

Chalaque seven dayes journie from Cutifachiqui.

skinnes: and there were in that Countrie many wilde
700. *Hens.* Hens. In one Towne they made him a Present of seven hundred Hens, and so in other Townes they sent him those which they had or could get. From this Province
Xualla five dayes off. to another, which is called Xualla, hee spent five dayes: here he found very little Maiz; and for this cause, though the people were wearied, and the horses very weake, hee stayed no more but two dayes. From Ocute to Cutifa-chiqui may bee some hundred and thirtie leagues, whereof eightie are Wildernesse. From Cutifa-chiqui to Xualla, two hundred and fiftie, and it is an Hilly Countrie. The Governour departed from Xualla toward Guaxule: he
Rough and high hils. passed very rough and high hils. In that journey, the Lady of Cutifa-chiqui (whom the Governour carried with him, as is aforesaid, with purpose to carrie her to Guaxule, because her Territorie reached thither) going on a day with the bond-women which lead her, went out of the way, and entred into a Wood, saying, shee went to ease her selfe, and so shee deceived them, and hid her selfe in the Wood; and though they sought her they could not find her. She carried away with her a little chest made of Canes in manner of a Coffer, which they call Petaca, full of unbored Pearles. Some which could judge of them, said, that they were of great value. An Indian woman that waited on her did carrie them. The Governour not to discontent her altogether, left them with her, making account that in Guaxule he would aske them of her, when he gave her leave to returne: which Coffer shee carried away, and went to Xualla with three slaves which fled from the Campe, and one Horseman which remained behind, who falling sicke of an Ague went out of the way, and was lost. This man, whose name was Alimamos, dealt with the slaves to change their evill purpose, and returne with him to the Christians: which two of them did; and Alimamos and they overtooke the Governour fiftie leagues from thence in a Province called Chiaha; and reported how the Lady remayned in Xualla with a slave of Andrew de Vascon-

cellos which would not come backe with them, and that of a certaintie they lived as man and wife together, and meant to goe both to Cutifa-chiqui. Within five dayes the Governour came to Guaxule. The Indians there gave him a Present of three hundred Dogges, because they saw the Christians esteeme them, and sought them to feed on them: for among them they are not eaten. In Guaxule, and all that way, was very little Maiz. The Governour sent from thence an Indian with a message to the Cacique of Chiaha, to desire him to gather some Maiz thither, that he might rest a few dayes in Chiaha. The Governour departed from Guaxule, and in two dayes journey came to a Towne called Canasagua. There met him on the way twentie Indians every one loaden with a basket full of Mulberies: for there be many, and those very good, from Cutifa-chiqui thither, and so forward in other Provinces, and also Nuts and Plums. And the trees grow in the fields without planting or dressing them, and are as bigge and as ranke, as though they grew in Gardens digged and watered. From the time that the Governour departed from Canasagua, he journied five dayes through a Desert; and two leagues before he came to Chiaha, there met him fifteene Indians loaden with Maiz, which the Cacique had sent; and they told him on his behalfe, that he waited his comming with twentie Barnes full of it; and farther, that himselfe, his Countrie, and subjects, and all things else were at his service. On the fift day of June, the Governour entred into Chiaha: The Cacique voided his owne houses, in which hee lodged, and received him with much joy.

Guaxule five dayes off.

Canasagua two dayes journey off.

Great store of Mulberie trees to make silke.

There was in this Towne much Butter in Gourds melted like Oyle: they said it was the fat of Beares. There was found also great store of Oyle of Walnuts, which was cleere as Butter, and of a good taste, and a pot full of Honie of Bees, which neither before nor afterward was seene in all the Countrie. The Towne was in an Iland betweene two armes of a River, and was seated nigh one of them. The River divideth it selfe into those

The fat of Beares.

Oyle of Walnuts.

Hony of Bees.

Chiaha seated in an Iland.

two branches two Crosse-bow shot above the Towne, and meeteth againe a league beneath the same. The plaine betweene both the branches is sometimes one Crosse-bow shot, sometimes two Crosse-bow shot over. The branches are very broad, and both of them may be waded over. There were all along them very good Medowes, and many fields sowne with Maiz. And because the Indians stayed in their Towne, the Governour only lodged in the houses of the Cacique, and his people in the fields; where there was ever a tree, every one tooke one for himselfe. Thus the Campe lay separated one from another, and out of order. The Governour winked at it, because the Indians were in peace, and because it was very hot, and the people should have suffered great extremitie, if it had not beene so. The horses came thither so weake, that for feeblenesse, they were not able to carry their Masters: because that from Cutifa-chiqui, they alwayes travelled with very little Provender, and were hunger-starved and tired ever since they came from the Desert of Ocute. And because the most of them were not in case to use in battell, though need should require, they sent them to feed in the night a quarter of a league from the Campe. The Christians were there in great danger, because that if at this time the Indians had set upon them, they had beene in evill case to have defended themselves. The Governour rested there thirtie dayes, in which time, because the Countrie was very fruitfull, the horses grew fat. A Cacique of a Province called Coste, came to this Towne to visit the Governour. After he had offered himselfe, and passed with him some words of tendring his service and courtesie; the Governor asking him whether he had notice of any rich Countrie? he said, yea: to wit, that toward the North, there was a Province named Chisca: and that there was a melting of Copper, and of another metal of the same colour, save that it was finer, and of a far more perfect colour, and far better to the sight; and that they used it not so much, because it was softer. And the selfe same thing was told the Governour

The Desert of Ocute, chap. 8. [IV. viii. 1540.]

Thirtie dayes rest.

Mines of Copper and Gold in Chisca toward the North.

in Cutifa-chiqui; where we saw some little Hatchets of Copper, which were said to have a mixture of Gold. But in that part the Countrie was not wel peopled, and they said there were Mountaines, which the horses could not passe: and for that cause, the Governour would not goe from Cutifa-chiqui directly thither: And he made account, that travelling through a peopled Countrie, when his men and horses should bee in better plight, and hee were better certified of the truth of the thing, he would returne toward it, by Mountaines, and a better inhabited Countrie, whereby he might have better passage. He sent two Christians from Chiaha, with certain Indians which knew the Countrie of Chisca, and the language thereof to view it, and to make report of that which they should find; where he told them that he would tarrie for them.

Hatchets of Copper holding Gold.

Chisca is directly North from Cutifa-chiqui, which is within two daies of Santa Helena.

Two Christians sent from Chiaha to seeke Chisca.

In seven dayes he came to Coste. The second of July he commanded his Campe to be pitched two Crosse-bow shot from the Towne: and with eight men of his guard he went where hee found the Cacique, which to his thinking received him with great love. As he was talking with him, there went from the Campe certaine Footmen to the Towne to seeke some Maiz, and not contented with it, they ransacked and searched the houses, and took what they found. With this despite the Indians began to rise and to take their armes: and some of them with cudgels in their hands, ranne upon five or sixe Christians, which had done them wrong, and beat them at their pleasure. The Governour seeing them all in an uprore, and himselfe among them with so few Christians, to escape their hands used a stratagem, farre against his owne disposition, being, as he was, very franke and open: and though it grieved him very much that any Indian should bee so bold, as with reason, or without reason to despise the Christians, he tooke up a cudgell, and tooke their parts against his owne men; which was a meanes to quiet them: And presently hee sent word by a man very secretly to the Campe, that some armed men should come toward the place where he was; and he tooke the

Coste seven dayes from Chiaha, chap. 14.

A wise Stratagem.

Cacique by the hand, using very milde words unto him, and with some principall Indians that did accompany him, he drew them out of the Towne into a plaine way, and unto the sight of the Campe, whither by little and little with good discretion the Christians began to come and to gather about them. Thus the Governour led the Cacique, and his chiefe men untill he entred with them into the Campe: and neere unto his Tent, hee commanded them to be put in safe custodie: and told them, that they should not depart without giving him a guide and Indians for burthens, and till certaine sicke Christians were come, which he had commanded to come down the River in Canoes from Chiaha; and those also which he had sent to the Province of Chisca: (for they were not returned; and he feared that the Indians had slaine the one, and the other.) Within three dayes after, those which were sent to Chisca returned, and made report, that the Indians had carried them through a Countrie so poore of Maiz, and so rough, and over so high Mountaynes, that it was impossible for the Armie to travell that way; and that seeing the way grew very long, and that they lingred much, they consulted to returne from a little poore Towne, where they saw nothing that was of any profit, and brought an Oxe hide, which the Indians gave them, as thin as a calves skin, and the haire like a soft wool, betweene the course and fine wooll of sheepe. The Cacique gave a guide, and men for burdens, and departed with the Governours leave. The Governour departed from Coste the ninth of July, and lodged at a Towne called Tali.

Those which were sent to seeke Chisca returne.

High Mountaines.

A little poore Towne.

An Oxe Hide with haire like wooll.

cap. 215. saith so.

Tali, one day from Coste.

The Cacique commanded provision necessary for two dayes, while the Governour was there, to be brought thither: and at the time of his departure, he gave him foure women and two men, which he had need of to beare burthens. The Governour travelled sixe dayes through many Townes subject to the Cacique of Coça: and as he entred into his Countrie many Indians came unto him every day from the Cacique, and met him on the way with messages, one going, and another comming.

Many Townes of Coça.

He came to Coça upon Friday, the sixe and twentieth of July. The Cacique came forth to receive him, two Crossebow shot from the Towne in a chaire, which his principall men carried on their shoulders, sitting upon a cushion, and covered with a garment of Marterns, of the fashion and bignesse of a womans Huke: hee had on his head a Diadem of feathers, and round about him many Indians playing upon Flutes, and singing.

Coça. *July 26.* *Marterns.*

There was in the Barnes, and in the fields great store of Maiz and French Beanes: The Countrie was greatly inhabited with many great Townes, and many sowne fields, which reached from the one to the other. It was pleasant, fat, full of good Meadowes upon Rivers. There were in the fields many Plum-trees, as well of such as grow in Spaine, as of the Countrie: and wild tall Vines, that runne up the trees; and besides these, there were other low Vines with bigge and sweet Grapes; but for want of digging and dressing, they had great kernels in them. The Governour used to set a guard over the Caciques, because they should not absent themselves, and carried them with him, till he came out of their Countries: because that carrying them along with him, he looked to find people in the Townes, and they gave him guides, and men to carrie burdens: and before hee went out of their Countries, hee gave them license to returne to their houses, and to their Porters likewise, assoone as hee came to any other Lordshippe, where they gave him others. The men of Coça seeing their Lord detained, tooke it in evill part, and revolted, and hid themselves in the Woods, aswell those of the Towne of the Cacique, as those of the other Townes of his principall subjects. The Governour sent out foure Captaines, every one his way to seeke them. They tooke many men and women, which were put into chaines: They seeing the hurt which they received, and how little they gained in absenting themselves, came againe, promising to doe whatsoever they were commanded.

Many great Townes. *Many Plum-trees of divers sorts.* [IV. viii. 1541.] *Two sorts of Grapes.* *Note.*

The Governor rested in Coça five and twentie dayes.

20. *of August.* He departed from thence the twentieth of August to seeke a Province called Tascaluca: he carried with him the Cacique of Coça. Hee passed that day by a great Towne called Tallimuchase, the people were fled: hee lodged halfe a league farther neere a Brooke. The next day he came to a Towne called Ytava, subject to Coça. He stayed there sixe dayes because of a River that passed by it, which at that time was very high; and assoone as the River suffered him to passe, he set forward, and lodged at a Towne named Ullibahali. There came to him on the way, on the Caciques behalfe of that Province, ten or twelve principall Indians to offer him his service; all of them had their plumes of feathers, and Bowes and Arrowes. The Governour comming to the Towne with twelve Horsemen, and some Footmen of his Guard, leaving his people a Crosse-bow shot from the Towne, entred into it, hee found all the Indians with their weapons: and as farre as he could ghesse, they seemed to have some evill meaning. It was knowne afterward, that they were determined to take the Cacique of Coça from the Governour, if he had requested it. The Governour commanded all his people to enter the Towne, which was walled about, and neere unto it passed a small River. The wall, aswell of that, as of others, which afterward wee saw, was of great posts thrust deepe into the ground and very rough, and many long railes as bigge as ones armes laid acrosse betweene them, and the wall was about the height of a Lance, and it was daubed within and without with clay, and had loop-holes. On the other side of the River was a Towne, where at that present the Cacique was. The Governour sent to call him, and he came presently. After he had passed with the Governour some words of offering his services, he gave him such men for his carriages as he needed, and thirtie women for slaves. In that place was a Christian lost, called Mançano, borne in Salamanca, of noble Parentage, which went astray to seeke for Grapes, whereof there is great store, and those very good.

Tallimuchase, a great Towne.

Ytava.

A great River.

Ullibahali.

Ullibahali walled about.

The fashion of their wals.

Great store of good Grapes.

The day that the Governour departed from thence, he lodged at a Towne subject to the Lord of Ullibahali: and the next day hee came to another Towne called Toasi. *Toasi.* The Indians gave the Governour thirtie women, and such men for his carriages as hee needed. He travelled ordinarily five or sixe leagues a day when he travelled through peopled Countries: and going through Deserts, he marched as fast as he could, to eschew the want of Maiz. *Hee travelled ordinarily five or sixe leagues a day.* From Toasi, passing through some Townes subject to a Cacique, which was Lord of a Province called Tallise, he travelled five dayes: He came to Tallise the eighteenth of September: The Towne was great, and situated neere unto a maine River. On the other side of the River were other Townes, and many fields sowne with Maiz. On both sides it was a very plentifull Countrie, and had store of Maiz: they had voided the Towne. The Governour commanded to call the Cacique; who came, and betweene them passed some words of love and offer of his services, and he presented unto him fortie Indians. There came to the Governour in this Towne a principall Indian in the behalfe of the Cacique of Tascaluca. *Tallise a great Towne. Septem.* 18. *A maine river.*

After hee had rested there twenty dayes, hee departed thence toward Tascaluca. That day when he went from Talisse, he lodged at a great Towne called Casiste. And *Casiste a great Towne.* the next day passed by another, and came to a small Towne of Tascaluca; and the next day hee camped in a *Tascaluca.* Wood two leagues from the Towne where the Cacique resided, and was at that time. And he sent the Master of the Campe, Luys de Moscoso, with fifteene Horsemen, to let him knowe how he was comming. The Cacique was in his Lodgings under a Canopie: and without doores, right against his Lodgings, in an high place, they spread a Mat for him, and two Cushions one upon another, where he sate him downe, and his Indians placed themselves round about him, somewhat distant from him, so that they made a place, and a voide roome where hee sate: and his chiefest men were neerest to him, and one

with a shadow of Deeres skinne, which kept the Sunne from him, being round, and of the bignesse of a Target, quartered with blacke and white, having a rundell in the middest: afarre off it seemed to be of Taffata, because the colours were very perfect. It was set on a small staffe stretched wide out. This was the device which he carried in his warres. He was a man of a very tall stature, of great limmes, and spare and well proportioned, and was much feared of his neighbours and subjects. Hee was Lord of many Territories and much people: In his countenance he was grave. After the Master of the Campe had spoken with him, he and those that went with him coursed their Horses, pransing them to and fro, and now and then toward the place where the Cacique was, who with much gravitie and dissimulation now and then lifted up his eyes, and beheld them as it were with disdaine. At the Governours comming, hee made no offer at all to rise. The Governour tooke him by the hand, and both of them sate down together on a seate which was under the Cloth of Estate.

[IV. viii. 1542.]

When he departed from thence, he determined to carrie him along with him for some causes, and at two dayes journey he came to a Towne called Piache, by which there passed a great River. The Governour demanded Canoas of the Indians: they said, they had them not, but that they would make Rafts of canes and drie timber, on which hee might passe well enough: And they made them with all diligence and speed, and they governed them; and because the water went very slowe, the Governour and his people passed very well.

Piache.

A great River.

The course of Sotos travels, whereby it appeareth that he journeyed not farre from Virginia.

From the Port de Spirito Santo to Apalache, which is about an hundred leagues, the Governour went from East to West: and from Apalache to Cutifa-chiqui, which are foure hundred and thirtie leagues, from the South-west to the North-east: and from Cutifa-chiqui to Xualla, which are about two hundred and fiftie leagues, from the South to the North: and from Xualla to Tascaluca, which are two hundred and fiftie leagues more, an hundred and

ninety of them he travelled from East to West, to wit, to the Province of Coça: and the other sixtie from Coça to Tascaluca, from the North to the South.

Having passed the River of Piache, a Christian went from his companie from thence to seeke a woman-slave that was runne away from him, and the Indians either tooke him captive, or slue him. The Governour urged the Cacique that he should give account of him, and threatned him, that if he were not found, he would never let him loose. The Cacique sent an Indian from thence to Mavilla, whither they were travelling, which was a Towne of a principall Indian and his subject, saying, that he sent him to advise them to make ready victuals, and men for carriages. But (as afterward appeared) he sent him to assemble all the men of warre thither, that hee had in his countrie. The Governour travelled three dayes; and the third day he passed all day thorow a peopled Countrie: and he came to Mavilla upon Monday the eighteenth of October. He went before the Campe with fifteene Horsemen, and thirtie Footmen. And from the Town came a Christian, whom he had sent to the principall man, three or foure dayes before, because he should not absent himselfe, and also to learne in what sort the Indians were: who told him, that he thought they were in an evill purpose: for while he was there, there came many people into the Towne, and many weapons, and that they made great haste to fortifie the wall. Luys de Moscoso told the Governour, that it would bee good to lodge in the field, seeing the Indians were of such disposition: and he answered, that he would lodge in the Towne, for he was weary of lodging in the field. When he came neere unto the Towne, the Cacique came forth to receive him with many Indians playing upon Flutes and singing: and after hee had offered himselfe, he presented him with three mantles of Marterns. The Governour, with both the Caciques, and seven or eight men of his guard, and three or foure Horsemen, which alighted to accompanie him, entred into the Towne,

Mavilla. 18. of October.

Mavilla walled.

Three mantles of Marterns.

and sate him downe under a Cloth of Estate. The Cacique of Tascaluca requested him, that he would let him remaine in that Towne, and trouble him no more with travelling: and seeing he would not give him leave, in his talke hee changed his purpose, and dissemblingly fained that hee would speake with some principall Indians, and rose up from the place where he sate with the Governour, and entred into a house, where many Indians were with their Bowes and Arrowes. The Governour when he saw he returned not, called him, and he answered, that he would not come out from thence, neither would hee goe any further then that Towne, and that if he would goe his way in peace, hee should presently depart, and should not seeke to carrie him perforce out of his Countrie and Territorie.

A gowne of Marterns.

Baltasar de Gallegos, which stood by, tooke hold of a Gowne of Marterns which hee had on; and he cast it over his head, and left it in his hands: and because all of them immediatly began to stirre, Baltasar de Gallegos gave him such a wound with his Coutilas, that hee opened him downe the backe, and presently all the Indians with a great crie came out of the houses shooting their Arrowes. The Governour considering, that if he taried there, he could not escape, and if he commanded his men to come in, which were without the Towne, the Indians within the houses might kill their Horses, and doe much hurt, ranne out of the Towne, and before he came out, he fell twice or thrice, and those that were with him did helpe him up againe; and hee and those that were with him were sore wounded: and in a moment there were five Christians slaine in the Towne. The Governour came running out of the Towne, crying out, that every man should stand further off, because from the wall they did them much hurt. The Indians seeing that the Christians retired, and some of them, or the most part, more then an ordinarie pace, shot with great boldnesse at them, and strooke downe such as they could overtake. The Indians which the Christians did leade with them in chaines, had

laid down their burthens neere unto the wall: and assoone as the Governour and his men were retired, the men of Mavilla laid them on the Indians backes againe, and tooke them into the Towne, and loosed them presently from their chaines, and gave them Bowes and Arrowes to fight withall. Thus they possessed themselves of all the Clothes and Pearles, and all that the Christians had, which their slaves carried. And because the Indians had beene alwaies peaceable untill wee came to this place, some of our men had their weapons in their fardels and remained unarmed. And from others that had entred the Towne with the Governour they had taken Swords and Holbards, and fought with them. When the Governour was gotten into the field, he called for an Horse, and with some that accompanied him, he returned and slue two or three Indians: All the rest retired themselves to the Towne, and shot with their Bowes from the wall. And those which presumed of their nimblenesse, sallied forth to fight a stones cast from the wall: And when the Christians charged them, they retired themselves at their leasure into the Towne. At the time that the broyle beganne, there were in the Towne a Frier, and a Priest, and a servant of the Governour, with a woman-slave: and they had no time to come out of the Towne: and they tooke an house, and so remained in the Towne. The Indians become Masters of the place, they shut the doore with a field gate: and among them was one Sword which the Governours servant had, and with it he set himselfe behind the doore, thrusting at the Indians which sought to come into them: and the Frier and the Priest stood on the other side, each of them with a barre in their hands to beate him downe that first came in. The Indians seeing they could not get in by the doore, beganne to uncover the house top. By this time, all the Horsemen and Foot-men which were behind, were come to Mavilla.

[IV. viii. 1543.]

All the clothes and Pearles of the Christians were lost.

As soone as the battell and the rereward were come to Mavilla, the Governor commanded all those that were best armed to alight, and made foure squadrons of Foot-

men. The Indians seeing how he was setting his men in order concluded with the Cacique that hee should goe his way, saying unto him, as after it was knowne by certaine women that were taken there, that he was but one man, and could fight but for one man, and that they had there among them many principall Indians, very valiant and expert in feates of Armes, that any one of them was able to order the people there. The Governour was informed how there went men out of the Towne, and he commanded the Horsemen to beset it, and sent in every squadron of Footmen one Souldier with a firebrand to set fire on the houses, that the Indians might have no defense: all his men being set in order, he commanded an Harquebuse to be shot off. The signe being given, the foure squadrons, every one by it selfe with great fury, gave the onset, and with great hurt on both sides they entred the Towne. The Frier and the Priest, and those that were with them in the house were saved, which cost the lives of two men of account, and valiant, which came thither to succour them. The Indians fought with such courage, that many times they drave our men out of the Towne. The fight lasted so long, that for wearinesse and great thirst many of the Christians went to a Poole, that was neere the wall, to drinke, which was all stained with the bloud of the dead, and then came againe to fight. The Governour seeing this, entred among the Footmen into the Towne on horsebake, with certaine that accompanied him, and was a meane that the Christians came to set fire on the houses, and brake and overcame the Indians, who running out of the Towne from the Footmen, the Horsemen without drave in at the gates againe, where being without all hope of life, they fought valiantly, and after the Christians came among them to handy blowes, seeing themselves in great distresse without any succour, many of them fled into the burning houses, where one upon another they were smothered and burnt in the fire. The whole number of the Indians that died in this Towne, were two thousand and five

A consultation of the Indians to send away their Cacique.

The death of 2500. Indians.

hundred, little more or lesse. Of the Christians there died eighteene; of which one was Don Carlos, brother in law to the Governour, and a Nephew of his, and one John de Gamez, and Men Rodriguez Portugals, and John Vazquez de Villanova de Barca Rota, all men of honour, and of much valour: the rest were Footmen. Besides those that were slaine, there were an hundred and fiftie wounded with seven hundred wounds of their Arrowes: and it pleased God that of very dangerous wounds they were quickly healed. Moreover, there were twelve Horses slaine, and seventy hurt. All the Clothes which the Christians carried with them to clothe themselves withall, and the ornaments to say Masse, and the Pearles, were all burnt there: and the Christians did set them on fire themselves; because they held for a greater inconvenience, the hurt which the Indians might doe them from those houses, where they had gathered all those goods together, then the losse of them. Here the Governour understood, that Francisco Maldonado waited for him at the Port of Ochuse, and that it was sixe dayes journey from thence; and he dealt with John Ortiz to keepe it secret, because hee had not accomplished that which hee determined to doe; and because the Pearles were burnt there, which he meant to have sent to Cuba for a shew, that the people hearing the newes, might he desirous to come to that Countrie.

The Port of Ochuse 6. dayes journey from Mavilla.

From the time that the Governour entred into Florida, untill his departure from Mavilla, there died an hundred and two Christians, some of sicknesse, and others which the Indians slue. He stayed in Mavilla, because of the wounded men, eight and twentie dayes; all which time he lay in the field. It was a well inhabited and a fat Countrie, there were some great and walled Townes: and many houses scattered all about the fields, to wit, a Crosbow shot or two, the one from the other. Upon Sunday, the eighteenth of November, when the hurt men were knowne to be healed, the Governour departed from Mavilla. Every one furnished himselfe with Maiz for

[IV. viii. 1544.]

Great and walled Towns.

18. of November.

two dayes, and they travelled five dayes through a Desart: they came to a Province called Pafallaya, unto a Towne, named Taliepatava: and from thence they went to another, called Cabusto: neere unto it ranne a great River. The Indians on the other side cried out, threatning the Christians to kill them, if they sought to passe it. The Governour commanded his men to make a Barge within the Towne, because the Indians should not perceive it: it was finished in foure dayes, and being ended, hee commanded it to bee carried one night upon sleds halfe a league up the River. In the morning there entred into it thirtie men well armed. The Indians perceived what was attempted, and those which were neerest, came to defend the passage. They resisted what they could, till the Christians came neere them; and seeing that the Barge came to the shoare, they fled away into the Groves of Canes. The Christians mounted on Horsebacke, and went up the River to make good the passage, whereby the Governour and his companie passed the River. There were along the River some Townes well stored with Maiz, and French Beanes. From thence to Chicaça the Governour travelled five dayes through a Desart. He came to a River, where on the other side were Indians, to defend the passage. He made another Barge in two dayes; and when it was finished, the Governour sent an Indian to request the Cacique to accept of his friendship, and peaceably to expect his comming: whom the Indians that were on the other side the River slue before his face, and presently making a great shout went their way. Having passed the River, the next day, being the seventeenth of December, the Governour came to Chicaça, a small Towne of twentie houses. And after they were come to Chicaça, they were much troubled with cold, because it was now Winter, and it snowed, while most of them were lodged in the field, before they had time to make themselves houses. This Countrie was very well peopled, and the houses scattered like those of Mavilla, fat and plentifull of Maiz, and the most part of it was fielding: they

Taliepatava. *Cabusto.* *A great River.* *Canavarales.* *Some Towns.* *A River.* *December* 17. *Chicaça.* *Snowe and much cold.*

gathered as much as sufficed to passe the Winter.. Some Indians were taken, among which was one whom the Cacique esteemed greatly. The Governour sent an Indian to signifie to the Cacique, that hee desired to see him and to have his friendship. The Cacique came unto him, to offer him his person, Countrie and Subjects, and told him, that he would cause two other Caciques to come to him in peace; who within few dayes after came with him, and with their Indians: The one was called Alimamu, the other Nicala. They gave a present unto the Governour of an hundred and fiftie Conies, and of the Countrie garments, to wit, of Mantles of skinnes. The Cacique of Chicaça came to visite him many times; and sometimes the Governour sent to call him, and sent him an Horse to goe and come. He complained unto him, that a Subject of his was risen against him, and deprived him of tribute, requesting his aide against him, for he meant to seeke him in his Countrie, and to punish him according to his desert. Which was nothing else but a fained plot. For they determined, as soone as the Governour was gone with him, and the Campe was divided into two parts, the one part of them to set upon the Governour, and the other upon them that remained in Chicaça. Hee went to the Towne where he used to keepe his residence, and brought with him two hundred Indians with their Bowes and Arrowes. The Governour tooke thirtie Horsemen, and eightie Footmen, and they went to Saquechuma (for so was the Province called of that Chiefe man, which he said had rebelled.) They found a walled Towne, without any men: and those which went with the Cacique set fire on the houses, to dissemble their treason. But by reason of the great care and heedfulnesse that was as well in the Governours people which hee carried with him, as of those which remained in Chicaça, they durst not assault them at that time. The Governour invited the Cacique, and certaine principall Indians, and gave them Hogs flesh to eate. And though they did not commonly use it, yet they were so greedy of it, that

Conies.

An Indian stratagem.

Saquechuma.

A walled Towne.

every night there came Indians to certaine houses a Cros bow shot from the Campe, where the Hogs lay, and killed, and carried away as many as they could. And three Indians were taken in the manner. Two of them the Governour commanded to be shot to death with Arrowes; and to cut off the hands of the other; and he sent him so handled to the Cacique. Who made as though it grieved him that they had offended the Governour, and that he was glad that he had executed that punishment on them. He lay in a plaine Countrie halfe a league from the place, where the Christians lodged. Foure Horsemen went a stragling thither, to wit, Francisco Osorio, and a servant of the Marquesse of Astorga, called Reynoso, and two servants of the Governour, the one his Page called Ribera, and the other Fuentes his Chamberlaine: and these had taken from the Indians some Mantles, wherewith they were offended, and forsooke their houses. The Governour knew of it, and commanded them to be apprehended; and condemned to death Francisco Osorio, and the Chamberlaine as principals, and all of them to losse of goods. The Friers and Priests and other principall persons were earnest with him to pardon Francisco Osorio his life, and to moderate his sentence, which he would not grant for any of them. While he was ready to command them to be drawne to the Market place to cut off their heads, there came certaine Indians from the Cacique, to complaine of them. John Ortiz, at the request of Baltasar de Gallegos and other persons, changed their words, and told the Governour, that the Cacique said, hee had notice how his Lordship held those Christians in prison for his sake, and that they were in no fault, neither had they done him any wrong, and that if hee would doe him any favour, hee should set them free. And he told the Indians; that the Governour said, he had them in prison, and that he would punish them in such sort, that they should be an example to others. Hereupon the Governour commanded the prisoners to be loosed. As soone as March was come, he determined to depart

[IV. viii. 1545.]

from Chicaça, and demanded of the Cacique two hundred men for carriages. Hee sent him answere, that he would speake with his principall men. Upon Tuesday the eighth of March, the Governour went to the Towne where he was, to aske him for the men: he told him, he would send the next day. As soone as the Governour was come to Chicaça, he told Luys de Moscoso the Camp-master, that hee misliked the Indians, and that hee should keepe a strong watch that night, which he remembred but a little. The Indians came at the second watch in foure squadrons, every one by it selfe, and as soone as they were descried, they sounded a Drum, and gave the assault with a great crie, and with so great celeritie, that presently they entred with the scouts, that were somewhat distant from the Campe. And when they were perceived of them which were in the Towne, halfe the houses were on fire, which they had kindled. That night three Horsemen chanced to be scouts, two of them were of base callings and the worst men in all the Campe, and the other, which was a Nephew of the Governour, which untill then was held for a tall man, shewed himselfe there as great a coward, as any of them: for all of them ranne away. And the Indians without any resistance came and set the Towne on fire; and taried behind the doores for the Christians, which ranne out of the houses, not having any leasure to arme themselves; and as they ranne hither and thither amazed with the noise, and blinded with the smoke and flame of the fire, they knew not which way they went, neither could they light upon their weapons, nor saddle their Horses, neither saw they the Indians that shot at them. Many of the Horses were burned in the Stables, and those which could breake their Halters gat loose. The disorder and flight was such, that every man fled which way he could, without leaving any to resist the Indians. But God (which chastiseth his according to his pleasure, and in the greatest necessities and dangers sustaineth them with his hand) so blinded the Indians, that they saw not what they had done, and thought that the

March, 1541.

Chitaza set on fire by the Indians.

Horses which ranne loose, were men on Horseback, that gathered themselves together to set upon them. The Governour onely rode on Horseback, and with him a Souldier called Tapia, and set upon the Indians, and striking the first he met with his Lance, the Saddle fell with him, which with haste was evill girded, and so hee fell from his Horse. And all the people that were on foot were fled to a Wood out of the Towne, and there assembled themselves together. And because it was night, and that the Indians thought the Horses were men on horsebacke which came to set upon them, as I said before, they fled; and one onely remayned dead, and that was hee whom the Governour slue with his Lance. The Towne lay all burnt to ashes. There died in this hurliburlie eleven Christians, and fiftie Horses; and there remayned an hundred Hogges, and foure hundred were burned. If any perchance had saved any clothes from the fire of Mavilla, here they were burned, and many were clad in skinnes, for they had no leasure to take their Coates. They indured much cold in this place, and the chiefest remedie were great fires. They spent all night in turnings without sleepe: for if they warmed one side, they freezed on the other. Some invented the weaving of certaine Mats of drie Ivie, and did weare one beneath, and another above: many laughed at this device, whom afterward necessitie inforced to doe the like. The Christians were so spoyled, and in such want of Saddles and weapons which were burned, that if the Indians had come the second night, they had overcome them with little labour. They removed thence to the Towne where the Cacique was wont to lie, because it was in the champaine Countrie. Within eight dayes after, there were many Lances and Saddles made. There were Ash-trees in those parts, whereof they made as good Lances as in Biscay.

The increase of Hogs.

The Towne where the Cacique lay.

Ash Trees.

Upon Wednesday the 15. of March, 1541. after the Governour had lodged eight dayes in a Plaine, halfe a league from the place which he had wintered in, after he had set up a forge, and tempered the Swords which in

Chicaça were burned, and made many Targets, Saddles, and Lances, on Tuesday night, at the morning watch, many Indians came to assault the Campe in three squadrons, every one by themselves: Those which watched gave the alarme. The Governour with great speed set his men in order three squadrons, and leaving some to defend the Campe, went out to encounter them. The Indians were overcome and put to flight. The ground was champaine and fit for the Christians to take the advantage of them; and it was now breake of day. But there happened a disorder, whereby there were not past thirtie or fortie Indians slaine: and this it was: that a Frier cried out in the Campe without any just occasion, To the Campe, To the Campe: Whereupon the Governour and all the rest repaired thither, and the Indians had time to save themselves. There were some taken, by whom the Governour informed himselfe of the Countrie, through which he was to passe. The five and twentieth of Aprill, hee departed from Chicaça, and lodged at a small Towne called Alimamu. They had very little Maiz, and they were to passe a Desart of seven dayes journey. The next day, the Governour sent three Captaines every one his way with Horsemen and Footmen to seeke provision to passe the Desart. And John Danusco the Auditor went with fifteene Horsemen, and fortie Footmen that way that the Governour was to goe, and found a strong Fort made, where the Indians stayed for him, and many of them walked on the top of it with their weapons, having their bodies, thighes and armes okered and died with blacke, white, yellow and red, striped like unto panes, so that they shewed as though they went in hose and doublets: and some of them had Plumes, and others had hornes on their heads, and their faces blacke, and their eyes done round about with streakes of red, to seeme more fierce.

April 25.

Alimamu.

[IV. viii. 1546.]

Blacke, white, yellow and red colours.

John Danusco sent three horsemen to advertise the Governour hereof. He came presently: for his intent was to drive them from thence, saying, that if he did it

not, they would be emboldned to charge him another time, when they might doe him more harme. Hee made the horsemen to alight, and set his men in foure Squadrons: The signe being given, they set up the Indians, which made resistance till the Christians came neere the Fort, and assoone as they saw they could not defend themselves, by a place where a Brooke passed neere the Fort, they ran away, and from the otherside they shot some Arrowes: and because at that instant wee knew no ford for the horses to passe, they had time enough to get out of our danger. Three Indians were slaine there, and many Christians were hurt, whereof within few dayes, there died fifteene by the way.

A Desert of seven dayes.

The Governour was inforced to depart presently toward Quizquiz. He travelled seven dayes through a Desert of many Marishes and thicke Woods: but it might all bee travelled on horsebacke, except some Lakes which they swamme over. Hee came to a Towne of the Province of Quizquiz without being descried, and tooke all the people in it before they came out of their houses.

A Towne of Quizquiz.

An old Prophesie.

There came to the Campe sixe principall Indians, and said, they came to see what people they were, and that long agoe, they had beene informed by their fore-fathers, That a white people should subdue them: and that therefore they would returne to their Cacique, and bid him come presently to obey and serve the Governour: and after they had presented him with sixe or seven skins and Mantles which they brought, they tooke their leave of him, and returned with the other, which waited for them by the Brookes side. The Cacique never came againe nor sent other message. And because in the Towne where the Governour lodged, there was small store of Maiz, he removed to another halfe a league from Rio Grande, where they found plentie of Maiz: And he went to see the River, and found, that neere unto it was great store of Timber to make Barges, and good situation of ground to incampe in. Presently he remooved himselfe thither. They made houses, and pitched their Campe in

Another Towne.

Rio Grande, or Rio de Espiritu Santo.

a plaine field a Crosse-bow shot from the River. And thither was gathered all the Maiz of the Townes, which they had lately passed. They began presently to cut and hew downe Timber, and to saw plankes for Barges. The Indians came presently downe the River: they leaped on shoare, and declared to the Governour, That they were subjects of a great Lord, whose name was Aquixo, who was Lord of many Townes, and governed many people on the other side of the River, and came to tell him on his behalfe, that the next day he with all his men would come to see, what it would please him to command him. The next day with speed, the Cacique came with two hundred Canoes full of Indians with their Bowes and Arrowes, painted, and with great plumes of white feathers, and many other colours, with shields in their hands, wherewith they defended the Rowers on both sides, and the men of Warre stood from the head to the sterne, with their Bowes and Arrowes in their hands. The Canoe wherein the Cacique was, had a Tilt over the sterne, and hee sate under the Tilt; and so were other Canoes of the principall Indians. And from under the Tilt where the chiefe man sat, he governed and commanded the other people. All joined together, and came within a stones cast of the shoare. From thence the Cacique said to the Governour, which walked along the Rivers side with others that wayted on him, that he was come thither to visit, to honor, and to obey him; because he knew he was the greatest and mightiest Lord on the Earth: therefore hee would see what he would command him to doe. The Governour yeelded him thankes, and requested him to come on shoare, that they might the better communicate together. And without any answere to that point, hee sent him three Canoes, wherein was great store of fish and loaves, made of the substance of Prunes like unto Brickes. After hee had received all, hee thanked him, and prayed him againe to come on shoare. And because the Caciques purpose was, to see if with dissimulation he might doe some hurt, when they saw that the Governour and his

Aquixo, a great Lord on the West side of Rio Grande.

200. *Canoes.*

Loaves made of Prunes.

men were in readinesse, they beganne to goe from the shoare: and with a great cry, the Crosse-bowmen which were ready, shot at them, and slue five or sixe of them. They retired with great order: none did leave his Oare, though the next to him were slaine, and shielding themselves, they went farther off. Afterward they came many times and landed: and when any of us came toward them, they fled unto their Canoes, which were very pleasant to behold: for they were very great and well made, and had their Tilts, Plumes, Paveses, and Flagges, and with the multitude of people that were in them, they seemed to be a faire Armie of Gallies. In thirtie dayes space, while the Governour remayned there, they made foure Barges. Assoone as those that passed first, were on Land on the other side, the Barges returned to the place where the Governour was: and within two houres after Sunne rising, all the people were over. The River was almost halfe a league broad. If a man stood still on the other side, it could not bee discerned, whether hee were a man or no. The River was of great depth, and of a strong current: the water was alwayes muddie: there came downe the River continually many trees and timber, which the force of the water and streame brought downe. There was great store of fish in it of sundry sorts, and most of it differing from the fresh water fish of Spaine, as hereafter shall bee shewed.

Goodly great Canoes.

Foure Barges made.

They passe over Rio Grande.

[IV. viii. 1547.]

Having passed Rio Grande, the Governour travelled a league and an halfe, and came to a great Towne of Aquixo, which was dispeopled before hee came thither. They espied thirtie Indians comming over a plaine, which the Cacique sent to discover the Christians determination: and assoone as they had sight of them, they tooke themselves to flight. The Horsemen pursued them, and slue tenne, and tooke fifteene. And because the Towne, whither the Governour went, was neere unto the River, hee sent a Captaine, with as many men as hee thought sufficient to carrie the Barges up the River. And because in his travelling by land, many times hee went farre from

the River to compasse the creekes that came from it, the Indians tooke occasion to set upon them of the Barges, and put them in great danger, because that by reason of the great current, they durst not leave the shoare, and from the banke they shot at them. Assoone as the Governour was come to the Towne, hee presently sent Crosse-bowmen downe the River, which came to rescue them: and upon the comming of the Barges to the Towne, hee commanded them to be broken, and to save the Iron for others, when it should be needfull. He lay there one night, and the day following, he set forward to seeke a Province, called Pacaha: which he was informed to bee neere unto Chisca, where the Indians told him there was gold. Hee passed through great Townes of Aquixo, which were all abandoned for feare of the Christians. Hee understood by certaine Indians that were taken, that three dayes journie from thence dwelt a great Cacique, whose name was Casqui. He came to a small River, where a Bridge was made, by which they passed: that day till Sun-set, they went all in water, which in some places came to the waste, and in some to the knees. When they saw themselves on dry land, they were very glad, because they feared they should wander up and downe as forlorne men all night in the water. At noone they came to the first Towne of Casqui: they found the Indians carelesse, because they had no knowledge of them. There were many men and women taken, and store of goods, as Mantles and skinnes, as well in the first Towne, as in another, which stood in a field halfe a league from thence in sight of it; whither the Horsemen ranne. This Countrie is higher, drier, and more champaine, then any part bordering neere the River, that untill then they had seene. There were in the fields many Walnut-trees, bearing soft shelled Walnuts, in fashion like bullets, and in the houses they found many of them, which the Indians had laid up in store. The trees differed in nothing else from those of Spaine, nor from those which we had seene before, but onely that they have a smaller leafe. There

Pacaha neere unto Chisca. Great townes.

The first towne of Casqui.

Walnut trees with soft shels.

Many Mulberie trees and Plum trees.

were many Mulberie trees and Plum trees, which bare red Plums like those of Spaine, and other gray, somewhat differing, but farre better. And all the trees are all the yeere so fruitfull, as if they were planted in Orchards: and the Woods were very thinne. The Governour travelled two dayes through the Countrie of Casqui, before he came to the Towne where the Cacique was: and the most of the way was alway by Champaine ground, which was full of great Townes, so that from one Towne, you might see two or three. Hee sent an Indian to certifie the Cacique, that hee was comming to the place where hee was, with intent to procure his friendship, and to hold him as his brother. Whereunto hee answered, That he should be welcome, and that he would receive him with speciall good will, and accomplish all that his Lordship would command him. He sent him a Present upon the way; to wit, skinnes, Mantles, and fish: And after these complements, the Governour found all the Townes as he passed, inhabited with people, which peaceably attended his comming, and offered him skinnes, Mantles, and fish. The Cacique accompanied with many Indians came out of the Towne, and stayed halfe a league on the way to receive the Governour.

Many great Townes.

Within a while after both of them used words of great offers and courtesie the one to the other, and the Cacique requested him to lodge in his houses. The Governour, to preserve the peace the better, excused himselfe, saying, that hee would lodge in the fields. And because it was very hot, they camped neere certaine trees a quarter of a league from the Towne. The Cacique went to his Towne, and came againe with many Indians singing. Assoone as they came to the Governour, all of them prostrated themselves upon the ground. Among these came two Indians that were blind. The Cacique made a speech: that seeing the Governour was the Sonne of the Sunne, and a great Lord, he besought him to doe him the favour to give sight to those two blind men. The blind men rose up presently, and very earnestly requested

The chiefe Towne of the Cacique of Casqui.

the same of the Governour. He answered, That in the high Heavens was hee that had power to give them health, and whatsoever they could aske of him; whose servant he was: And that this Lord made the Heavens and the Earth, and man after his owne likenesse, and that hee suffered upon the Crosse to save Mankind, and rose againe the third day, and that he died as he was man, and as touching his Divinitie, he was, and is immortall; and that he ascended into Heaven, where hee standeth with his armes open to receive all such as turne unto him: and straight way hee commanded him to make a very high Crosse of wood, which was set up in the highest place of the Towne; declaring unto him, that the Christians worshipped the same in resemblance and memorie of that whereon Christ suffered. The Governour and his men kneeled downe before it, and the Indians did the like. The Governour willed him, that from thenceforth he should worship the same, and should aske whatsoever they stood in need of, of that Lord that he told him was in Heaven. Then he asked him how farre it was from thence to Pacaha: He said, one dayes journie, and that at the end of his Countrie, there was a Lake like a Brooke which falleth into Rio Grande, and that hee would send men before to make a Bridge whereby hee might passe. The same day that the Governour departed thence, hee lodged at a Towne belonging to Casqui: and the next day he passed in sight of other Townes, and came to the Lake, which was halfe a Crosse-bow shot over, of a great depth and current. At the time of his comming, the Indians had made an end of the Bridge, which was made of timber, laid one tree after another: and on one side it had a course of stakes higher then the Bridge, for them that passed to take hold on. The Cacique of Casqui came to the Governour, and brought his people with him. The Governour sent word by an Indian to the Cacique of Pacaha, that though he were enemie to the Cacique of Casqui, and though he were there, yet hee would doe him no disgrace nor hurt, if hee would attend him peace-

Spanish Indian Preaching.

[IV. viii. 1548.]

A Towne belonging to Casqui.

Other townes.

ably, and imbrace his friendship; but rather would intreate him as a Brother. The Indian, which the Governour sent, came againe, and said, that the Cacique made none account of that which he told him, but fled with all his men out at the other side of the Towne. Presently the Governour entred, and ranne before with the Horsemen, that way, by which the Indians fled; and at another Towne distant a quarter of a league from thence, they tooke many Indians: and assoone as the Horsemen had taken them, they delivered them to the Indians of Casqui, whom, because they were their enemies, with much circumspection and rejoycing, they brought to the Towne where the Christians were: and the greatest griefe they had, was this, that they could not get leave to kill them. There were found in the Towne many Mantles, and Deere skinnes, Lions skinnes, and Beares skinnes, and many Cats skinnes. Many came so farre poorely apparelled, and there they clothed themselve: of the Mantles, they made them Coates and Cassocks, and some made Gownes, and lined them with Cats skinnes; and likewise their Cassocks. Of the Deeres skinnes, some made them also Jerkins, Shirts, Hose and Shooes: and of the Beare skinnes, they made them very good Clokes: for no water could pierce them. There were Targets of raw Oxe Hides found there; with which Hides they armed their Horses.

Targets of raw Oxe hides.

Upon Wednesday the nineteenth of June, the Governour entred into Pacaha: He lodged in the Towne, where the Cacique used to reside, which was very great, walled, and beset with Towres, and many loope-holes were in the Towres and Wall. And in the Towne was great store of old Maiz, and great quantitie of new in the fields. Within a league and halfe a league were great Townes all walled. Where the Governour was lodged, was a great Lake, that came neere unto the wall: and it entred into a ditch that went round about the Towne, wanting but a little to environ it round. From the Lake to the great River was made a weare by the which the fish came into

Pacaha, a verie great Towne beset with Towres.

Great walled Townes.

it; which the Cacique kept for his recreation and sport: with Nets that were found in the Towne, they tooke as much as they would: and tooke they never so much, there was no want perceived. There was also great store of fish in many other Lakes that were thereabout, but it was soft, and not so good as that which came from the River, and the most of it was different from the fresh water fish of Spaine. There was a fish which they called Bagres: the third part of it was head, and it had on both sides the gils, and along the sides great prickes like very sharpe Aules: those of this kind that were in the Lakes were as bigge as Pikes: and in the River, there were some of an hundred, and of an hundred and fiftie pounds weight, and many of them were taken with the hooke. There was another fish like Barbels; and another like Breames, headed like a delicate fish, called in Spaine Besugo, betweene red and grey. This was thereof most esteeme. There was another fish called a Pele fish: it had a snowt of a Cubit long, and at the end of the upper lip it was made like a Peele. There was another fish like a Westerne Shad: And all of them had scales, except the Bagres, and the Pele fish. There was another fish, which somtimes the Indians brought us, of the bignesse of an Hogge, they call it the Pereo fish: it had rowes of teeth beneath and above.

Nets found.

The divers sorts of excellent fish in Rio Grande.

From thence he sent thirtie Horsemen, and fiftie Footmen to the Province of Caluça, to see if from thence he might travell to Chisca, where the Indians said there was a worke of Gold and Copper. They travelled seven dayes journie through a Desert, and returned very wearie, eating greene Plums and stalkes of Maiz, which they found in a poore Towne of sixe or seven houses. From thence forward toward the North; the Indians said, That the Countrie was very ill inhabited, because it was very cold: And that there were such store of Oxen, that they could keepe no Corne for them: and that the Indians lived upon their flesh. The Governour seeing that toward that part the Countrie was so poore of Maiz, that

Gold & Copper in Chisca.

A poore towne.

Great store of Oxen toward the North of Pacaha.

in it they could not bee sustained, demanded of the Indians, which way it was most inhabited: and they said, they had notice of a great Province, and a very plentifull Countrie, which was called Quigaute, and it was toward the South.

This is like Quivera.

[IV. viii. 1549.] The Governour tooke his journie toward Quigaute. The fourth day of August, hee came to the Towne, where the Cacique used to keepe his Residencie: on the way hee sent him a Present of many Mantles and Skinnes, and not daring to stay for him in the Towne, hee absented himselfe. The Towne was the greatest that was seene in Florida.

Quigaute. The greatest Towne seen in Florida.

They tooke many men and women. Now seeing the hurt which they sustained for their Rebellion, they came to see what the Governour would command them, and passed to and fro many times, and brought Presents of Cloth and Fish. The Cacique and his two wives were in the lodging of the Governour loose, and the Halbardiers of his Guard did keepe them. The Governour asked them which way the Countrie was most inhabited? They said, that toward the South downe the River were great Townes and Caciques, which commanded great Countries, and much people: And that toward the North-west, there was a Province neere to certaine Mountaines that was called Coligoa. The Governour and all the rest thought good to goe first to Coligoa: saying, that peradventure the Mountaines would make some difference of soile, and that beyond them there might be some Gold or Silver: As for Quigaute, Casqui, and Pacaha, they were plaine Countries, fat grounds, and full of good Medowes on the Rivers, where the Indians sowed large fields of Maiz. From Tascaluca to Rio grande, or the great River, is about three hundred leagues: it is a very low Countrie, and hath many Lakes. From Pacaha to Quigaute may bee an hundred leagues. The Governour left the Cacique of Quigaute in his owne Towne: And an Indian, which was his Guide, led him through great Woods without any way seven dayes journie through a

Cloth.

Coligoa neere to certaine Mountaines North-west.

Desert, where at every lodging, they lodged in Lakes and Pooles in very shoald water: there was such store of fish, that they killed them with cudgels; and the Indians which they carried in chains, with the mud troubled the waters, and the fish being therewith, as it were, astonied, came to the top of the water, and they tooke as much as they listed. The Indians of Coligoa had no knowledge of the Christians, and when they came so neere the Towne, that the Indians saw them, they fled up a River, which passed neere the Towne, and some leaped into it; but the Christians went on both sides of the River, and tooke them. There were many men and women taken, and the Cacique with them. And by his commandement within three dayes came many Indians with a Present of Mantles and Deeres skinnes, and two Oxe hides: And they reported, that five or sixe leagues from thence toward the North, there were many of these Oxen, and that because the Countrie was cold, it was evill inhabited: That the best Countrie which they knew, the most plentifull, and most inhabited, was a Province called Cayas, lying toward the South. From Quiguate to Coligoa may be fortie leagues. It was a fat soile and so plentifull of Maiz, that they cast out the old, to bring in the new. There was also great plentie of French Beanes and Pompions. The French Beanes were greater, and better then those of Spaine, and likewise the Pompions, and being roasted, they have almost the taste of Chestnuts. The Cacique of Coligoa gave a Guide to Cayas, and stayed behind in his owne Towne. We travelled five dayes, and came to the Province of Palisema. The house of the Cacique was found covered with Deeres skins of divers colours and workes drawne in them, and with the same in manner of Carpets was the ground of the house covered. The Cacique left it so, that the Governour might lodge in it, in token that hee sought peace and his friendship. But hee durst not tarrie his comming. The Governour, seeing he had absented himselfe, sent a Captaine with Horsemen and Footmen to seeke him: He found much people, but

A new way to take fish.

Coligoa.

A River.

Two oxe hides.

Store of oxen toward the North.

The Province of Palisema.

by reason of the roughnesse of the Country, he tooke none save a few women and children. The Towne was little and scattering, and had very little Maiz. For which cause the Governour speedily departed from thence. He came to another Towne called Tatalicoya, he carried with him the Cacique thereof, which guided him to Cayas. From Tatalicoya are foure dayes journie to Cayas. When he came to Cayas, and saw the Towne scattered; he thought they had told him a lye, and that it was not the Province of Cayas, because they had informed him that it was well inhabited: He threatned the Cacique, charging him to tell him where he was: and he and other Indians which were taken neere about that place, affirmed that this was the Towne of Cayas, and the best that was in that Country, and that though the houses were distant the one from the other, yet the ground that was inhabited was great, and that there was great store of people, and many fields of Maiz. This Towne was called Tanico: he pitched his Campe in the best part of it neere unto a River. The same day that the Governour came thither, he went a league farther with certaine Horsemen, and without finding any, he found many skinnes in a pathway, which the Cacique had left there, that they might bee found, in token of peace. For so is the custome in that Countrey.

Tatalicoya.

Cayas.

Tanico.

The Governour rested a moneth in the Province of Cayas. In which time the horses fattened and thrived more, then in other places in a longer time, with the great plentie of Maiz and the leaves thereof, which I thinke was the best that hath beene seene, and they dranke of a Lake of very hot water, and somewhat brackish, and they dranke so much, that it swelled in their bellies when they brought them from the watering. Untill that time the Christians wanted Salt, and there they made good store, which they carried along with them. The Indians doe carrie it to other places to exchange it for Skins and Mantles. They make it along the River, which when it ebbeth, leaveth it upon the upper part of the sand.

A Lake of hot and somewhat brackish water.

Store of Salt made at Cayas.

[IV. viii. 1550.]

And because they cannot make it, without much sand mingled with it, they throw it into certaine baskets which they have for that purpose, broad at the mouth, and narrow at the bottome, and set it in the Aire upon a barre, and throw water into it, and set a small Vessell under it, wherein it falleth: Beeing strained and set to boyle upon the fire, when the water is sodden away, the Salt remayneth in the bottome of the Pan. On both sides of the River the Countrie was full of sowne fields, and there was store of Maiz.

Immediately the Governour with certaine Horsemen and fifty Footmen, departed toward Tulla, hee found the Towne abandoned: for the Indians durst not tarrie his comming. The Cacique came, and eightie Indians with him. He brought a Present of many Oxe hides: which, because the Countrie was cold, were very profitable, and served for Coverlets, because they were very soft, and woolled like sheepe. Not farre from thence toward the North were many Oxen. The Christians saw them not, nor came into the Countrie where they were, because those parts were evill inhabited, and had small store of Maiz where they were bred. The Cacique of Tulla made an Oration to the Governour, wherein he excused himselfe, and offered him his Country, subjects, and person. Aswell this Cacique as the others, and all those which came to the Governour on their behalfe, delivered their message or speech in so good order, that no Oratour could utter the same more eloquently.

Many Oxe hides with wool on them, as soft as sheeps wooll. Gomara Histor. Gener. cap. 215.

Many Oxen toward the North.

The great eloquence of the Indians.

§. III.

His departure to Autiamque, Ortiz his death and disasters following: Soto takes thought and dieth. Moscosco succeedeth. They leave Florida, and arrive at Panuco.

THe Governour informed himselfe of all the Countrie round about; and understood, that toward the West was a scattered dwelling, and that toward the South-east were great Townes, especially in a Province called Autiamque, ten daies journie from Tulla; which might be about eightie leagues; and that it was a plentifull Countrey of Maiz. And because Winter came on, and that they could not travell two or three moneths in the yeere for cold, waters, and snow: and fearing, that if they should stay so long in the scattered dwelling, they could not be susteined; and also because the Indians said, that neere to Autiamque was a great water, and according to their relation, the Governour thought it was some arme of the Sea: And because hee now desired to send newes of himselfe to Cuba, that some supply of men and horses might be sent unto him: (for it was above three yeeres, since Donna Isabella, which was in Havana, or any other person in Christendome had heard of him, and by this time hee had lost two hundred and fiftie men, and one hundred and fiftie horses) he determined to winter in Autiamque, and the next Spring, to goe to the Sea Coast, and to make two Brigantines, and send one of them to Cuba, and the other to Nueva Espanna, that that which went in safetie, might give newes of him: Hoping with the goods which he had in Cuba, to furnish himselfe againe, and to attempt the Discoverie and conquest toward the West: for he had not yet come where Cabeça de Vaca had beene. Thus having sent away the two Caciques of Cayas and Tulla, hee tooke his journie toward Autiamque: He travelled five dayes over very rough Mountaines, and

A winter of two or three moneths.

came to a Towne called Quipana, where no Indians could bee taken for the roughnesse of the Countrie: and the Towne being betweene Hils, there was an ambush laid, wherewith they tooke two Indians; which told them, that Autiamque was sixe dayes journie from thence, and that there was another Province toward the South eight dayes journie off, plentifull of Maiz, and very well peopled, which was called Guahate. But because Autiamque was neerer, and the most of the Indians agreed of it, the Governor made his journie that way. In three dayes hee came to a Towne called Anoixi. He sent a Captaine before with thirtie Horsemen, and fiftie Footmen, and tooke the Indians carelesse, he tooke many men and women prisoners. Within two dayes after the Governour came to another Towne called Catamaya, and lodged in the fields of the Towne. Two Indians came with a false message from the Cacique to know his determination. He had them tell their Lord, that hee should come and speake with him. The Indians returned and came no more, nor any other message from the Cacique. The next day the Christians went to the Towne, which was without people: they tooke as much Maiz as they needed. That day they lodged in a Wood, and the next day they came to Autiamque. They found much Maiz laid up in store, and French Beanes, and Walnuts and Prunes, great store of all sorts. They tooke some Indians which were gathering together the stuffe which their wives had hidden. This was a Champaine Countrie, and well inhabited. The Governor lodged in the best part of the Towne, and commanded presently to make a fence of timber round about the Campe distant from the houses, that the Indians might not hurt them without by fire. And measuring the ground by paces, he appointed every one his part to doe according to the number of Indians which he had: presently the timber was brought by them; and in three dayes there was an inclosure made of very high and thicke posts thrust into the ground, and many rayles laid acrosse. Hard by this Towne passed a River,

Quipana, five dayes journie from Tulla.

Guahate.

Anoixi.

Catamaya.

Autiamque sixe dayes journie from Quipana.

[IV. viii. 1551.]

A River.

that came out of the Province of Cayas; and above and beneath it was very well peopled. They stayed in Autiamque three moneths with great plentie of Maiz, French Beanes, Walnuts, Prunes, and Conies: which untill that time they knew not how to catch. And in Autiamque the Indians taught them how to take them: which was, with great springes, which lifted up their feet from the ground: And the snare was made with a strong string, whereunto was fastned a knot of a cane, which ranne close about the necke of the Conie, because they should not gnaw the string. They tooke many in the fields of Maiz, especially when it freezed or snowed. The Christians stayed there one whole moneth so inclosed with snowe, that they went not out of the Towne: and when they wanted fire-wood, the Governour with his Horsmen going and comming many times to the Wood, which was two Cros-bow shot from the Towne, made a path-way, whereby the Footmen went for wood. In this meane space, some Indians which went loose, killed many Conies with their Gives, and with their Arrowes. These Conies were of two sorts, some were like those of Spaine, and the other of the same colour and fashion, and as bigge as great Hares, longer, and having greater loines.

Three months abode in Autiamque.

Frost and snow.

A moneth of snow.

Conies of two sorts.

March 6. 1542.

Upon Monday the sixt of March, 1542. the Governour departed from Autiamque to seeke Nilco, which the Indians said was neere the Great River, with determination to come to the Sea, and procure some succour of Men and Horses: for he had now but three hundred Men of warre, and fortie Horses, and some of them lame, which did nothing but helpe to make up the number: and for want of Iron, they had gone above a yeere unshod: and because they were used to it in the plaine Countrie, it did them no great harme. John Ortiz died in Autiamque; which grieved the Governour very much: because that without an Interpreter he feared to enter farre into the Land, where hee might bee lost: whereby it often happened, that the way that they went one day,

The death of John Ortiz, and the great misse of him, being their Interpreter.

and sometimes two or three dayes, they turned backe, and went astray through the wood here and there. The Governour spent ten dayes in travelling from Autiamque to a Province called Ayays; and came to a Towne that stood neere the River that passeth by Cayas and Autiamque. There hee commanded a Barge to bee made, wherewith hee passed the River. When he had passed the River, there fell out such weather, that foure dayes he could not travell for Snow. As soone as it gave over snowing, he went three dayes journey through a Wildernesse, and a Countrie so lowe, and so full of Lakes and evill wayes, that he travelled one time a whole day in water, sometimes knee deepe, sometimes to the stirrup, and sometimes they swamme. He came to a Towne called Tutelpinco, abandoned, and without Maiz: there passed by it a Lake, that entred into the River, which carried a great streame and force of water.

Ayays.
A River.
Great snow about the twentieth of March.
Tutelpinco.
A great Lake.

The Governour went a whole day along the Lake seeking passage, and could finde none, nor any way that did passe to the other side. Comming againe at night to the Towne he found two peaceable Indians, which shewed him the passage, and which way hee was to goe. There they made of canes, and of the timber of houses thatched with canes, rafts wherewith they passed the Lake. They travelled three dayes, and came to a Towne of the Territorie of Nilco, called Tianto. There they tooke thirtie Indians, and among them two principall men of this Towne. The Governour sent a Captaine with Horsemen and Footmen before to Nilco, because the Indians, might have no time to carrie away the provision. They passed through 3. or 4. great Towns; and in the Towne where the Cacique was resident, which was two leagues from the place where the Governour remained, they found many Indians with their Bowes and Arrowes, in manner as though they would have stayed to fight, which did compasse the Towne; and as soone as they saw the Christians come neere them without misdoubting them, they set the Caciques house on fire, and fled over a

Rafts wherewith they passed the Lake.
Tianto.
3. or 4. great Townes.

Lake that passed neere the Towne, through which the Horses could not passe.

March 29. Nilco. The next day being Wednesday the nine and twentieth of March, the Governour came to Nilco: he lodged with all his men in the Caciques Towne, which stood in a plaine field, which was inhabited for the space of a quarter of a league: and within a league and halfe a league were other very great Townes, wherein was great store of Maiz, of French Beanes, of Walnuts, and Prunes. This was the best inhabited Countrie, that was seene in Florida, and had most store of Maiz, except Coça, and Apalache. There came to the Campe an Indian accompanied with others, and in the Caciques name gave the Governour a Mantle of Marterns skinnes, and a Cordon of Pearles. The Governour gave him a few small Margarites, which are certaine Beades much esteemed in Peru, and other things, wherewith he was very well contented. He promised to returne within two dayes, but never came againe: but on the contrary the Indians came by night in Canoas, and carried away all the Maiz they could, and made them Cabins on the other side of the River.

Very great Townes.

The best Countrie of Florida.

Marterns skinnes.

A cordon of Pearles.

A River falling into Rio grande. This River which passed by Nilco, was that which passed by Cayas and Autiamque, and fell into Rio grande, or the Great River, which passed by Pachaha and Aquixo, neere unto the Province of Guachoya. Within few dayes the Governour determined to goe to Guachoya, to learne there whether the Sea were neere, or whether there were any habitation neere, where he might relieve his companie, while the Brigantines were making, which he meant to send to the Land of the Christians. He came to Guachoya upon Sunday the seventeenth of Aprill: hee lodged in the Towne of the Cacique, which was inclosed about, and seated a Cros-bow shot distant from the River. Here the River is called Tamaliseu; and in Nilco, Tapatu; and in Coça, Mico; and in the Port or Mouth, Ri.

[IV. viii. 1552.]

Guachoya.

Foure names of Rio grande.

The Cacique of Guachoya brought with him many Indians with great store of Fish, Dogges, Deeres skinnes, and Mantles. Hee asked him whether he had any notice

of the Sea. Hee answered, no, nor of any Townes downe the River on that side. The Governour thought that the Cacique lyed unto him, to rid him out of his owne Townes, and sent John Danusco with eight Horsemen downe the River, to see what habitation there was, and to informe himselfe, if there were any notice of the Sea. He travelled eight dayes, and at his returne he said, that in all that time he was not able to goe above fourteene or fifteene leagues, because of the great creekes that came out of the River, and groves of Canes, and thicke Woods that were along the bankes of the River, and that he had found no habitation. The Governour fell into great dumpes, to see how hard it was to get to the Sea: and worse, because his Men and Horses every day diminished, being without succour to sustaine themselves in the Countrie: and with that thought hee fell sicke. But before he tooke his bed, he sent an Indian to the Cacique of Quigalta, to tell him, that he was the Child of the Sunne, and that all the way that he came all men obeyed and served him, that he requested him to accept of his friendship, and come unto him; for he would be very glad to see him: and in signe of love and obedience to bring something with him of that which in his Countrie was most esteemed. The Cacique answered by the same Indian:

The Governor falleth sicke of thought.

That whereas he said, that he was the Childe of the Sunne, if he would drie up the River hee would beleeve him: and touching the rest, that he was wont to visit none: but rather that all those of whom hee had notice did visit him, served, obeyed and paid him tributes willingly or perforce: therefore if hee desired to see him, it were best he should come thither: that if he came in peace, hee would receive him with speciall goodwill; and if in warre, in like manner he would attend him in the Towne where he was, and that for him or any other he would not shrinke one foote backe.

A most wittie and stout answer of the Cacique of Quigalta.

By that time the Indian returned with this answere, the Governour had betaken himselfe to bed, being evill

handled with Fevers, and was much aggrieved, that hee was not in case to passe presently the River, and to seek him, to see if he could abate that pride of his, considering the River went now very strongly in those parts; for it was neere halfe a league broad, and 16. fathoms deepe, & very furious, and ran with a great current; and on both sides were many Indians, and his power was not now so great, but that he had need to helpe himselfe rather by slights then force.

The Governour felt in himselfe that the houre approached, wherein he was to leave this present life, and called for the Kings Officers, Captaines and principall persons. Hee named Luys de Moscoso de Alvarado his Captaine generall. And presently he was sworne by all that were present, and elected for Governour. The next day, being the one and twentieth of May, 1542. departed out of this life, the valorous, virtuous, and valiant Captaine, Don Fernando de Soto, Governour of Cuba, and Adelantado of Florida: whom fortune advanced, as it useth to doe others, that he might have the higher fall. Hee departed in such a place, and at such a time, as in his sicknesse he had but little comfort: and the danger wherein all his people were of perishing in that Countrie, which appeared before their eyes, was cause sufficient, why every one of them had neede of comfort, and why they did not visite nor accompanie him as they ought to have done. Luys de Moscoso determined to conceale his death from the Indians, because Ferdinando de Soto had made them beleeve, That the Christians were immortall; and also because they tooke him to be hardy, wise, and valiant: and if they should knowe that hee was dead, they would be bold to set upon the Christians, though they lived peaceably by them. In regard of their disposition, and because they were nothing constant, and beleeved all that was told them, the Adelantado made them beleeve, that he knew some things that passed in secret among themselves, without their knowledge, how, or in what manner he came by them: and that the figure which appeared in

The death of Don Ferdinando de Soto, the 21. of May, 1542. at Guacoya.

A wittie stratagem.

a Glasse, which he shewed them, did tell him whatsoever they practised and went about: and therefore neither in word nor deed durst they attempt any thing that might be prejudiciall unto him.

As soone as he was dead, Luys de Moscoso commanded to put him secretly in an house, where he remayned three dayes: and removing him from thence, commanded him to be buried in the night at one of the gates of the Towne within the wall. And as the Indians had seene him sick, and missed him, so did they suspect what might be. And passing by the place where he was buried, seeing the earth moved, they looked and spake one to another. Luys de Moscoso understanding of it, commanded him to be taken up by night, and to cast a great deale of sand into the Mantles, wherein he was winded up, wherein he was carried in a Canoa, and throwne into the midst of the River. The Cacique of Guachoya inquired of him, demanding what was become of his brother and Lord, the Governor: Luys de Moscoso told him, that he was gone to Heaven, as many other times he did: and because he was to stay there certaine dayes, he had left him in his place. The Cacique thought with himselfe that he was dead; and commanded two young and well proportioned Indians to be brought thither; and said, that the use of that Countrie was, when any Lord died, to kill Indians, to waite upon him, and serve him by the way: and for that purpose by his commandement were those come thither: and prayed Luys de Moscoso to command them to be beheaded, that they might attend and serve his Lord and brother. Luys de Moscoso told him, that the Governour was not dead, but gone to Heaven, and that of his owne Christian Souldiers, he had taken such as he needed to serve him, and prayed him to command those Indians to be loosed, and not to use any such bad custome from thenceforth: straightway he commanded them to be loosed, and to get them home to their houses. And one of them would not goe; saying, that he would not serve him, that without desert had

[IV. viii. 1553.]

This is also the custome of the old Tartars.

judged him to death, but that hee would serve him as long as he lived, which had saved his life.

Their generall resolution to travell by land Westward.

All were of opinion, that it was best to goe by land toward the West, because Nueva Espanna was that way; holding the Voyage by Sea more dangerous, and of greater hazard, because they could make no ship of any strength to abide a storme, neither had they Master, nor Pilot, Compas, nor Chart, neither knew they how farre the Sea was off, nor had any notice of it; nor whether the River did make any great turning into the Land, or had any great fall from the Rockes, where all of them might be cast away. And some which had seene the Sea-chart, did finde, that from the place where they were, by the Sea-coast to Nueva Espanna, might be foure hundred leagues little more or lesse; and said, that though they went somewhat about by Land in seeking a peopled Countrie, if some great Wildernesse which they could not passe did not hinder them, by spending that Summer in travell, finding provision to passe the Winter in some peopled Countrie, that the next Summer after they might come to some Christian Land, and that it might fortune in their travell by Land, to finde some rich Countrie, where they might doe themselves good. The Governour, although he desired to get out of Florida in shorter time, seeing the inconveniences they layed before him, in travelling by Sea, determined to follow that which seemed good to them all.

June 5.

On Monday the fifth of June, he departed from Guachoya. The Cacique gave him a Guide to Chaguate, and stayed at home in his owne Towne. They passed

Catalte.

through a Province called Catalte: and having passed a Wildernesse of sixe dayes Journey, the twentieth day of

Chaguate.

the moneth he came to Chaguate. There he was informed of the habitation that was toward the West. They told him, that three dayes Journey from thence was a Province

Aguacay.

called Aguacay. The Governour came to this Towne on Wednesday, the fourth of July. He found the Towne without people, and lodged in it; he stayed there about

a day; during which, he made some roades, and tooke many men and women. There they had knowledge of the South Sea. *Knowledge of the South Sea.*

The next day he came to a small Towne called Pato. *Pato.* The fourth day after his departure from Aguacay he came to the first habitation of a Province called Amaye. There *Amaye.* an Indian was taken, which said that from thence to Naguatex, was a day and a halfes Journey; which they travelled, finding all the way inhabited places. Having passed the peopled Countrie of Amaye, on Saturday the twentieth of July they pitched their Campe at noone *July* 20. between Amaye and Naguatex. The next day he came to the habitation of Naguatex, which was very scattering. *Naguatex.* Within foure dayes he departed thence, and comming to the River, hee could not passe, because it was growne very bigge; which seemed to him a thing of admiration, being at that time that it was, and since it had not rained a moneth before. The Indians said, that it increased many times after that manner without rayning in all the Countrie. It was supposed, that it might bee the tide that came into it. It was learned that the floud came alway from above, and that the Indians of all the Countrie had no knowledge of the Sea. *The River growne unpassable in August at Naguatex.* *Conjectures of a Sea to the Northward.*

Hee departed from Naguatex, and within three dayes Journey came to a Towne of foure or five houses, which belonged to the Cacique of that Province, which is called Nissoone: it was evill inhabited, and had little Maiz. *Nissoone.* Two dayes journey forward the Guides which guided the Governour, if they were to goe Westward, guided him to the East; and somtimes went up and downe through very great Woods out of the way. The Governour commanded them to bee hanged upon a tree: and a woman that they tooke in Nissoone guided him, and went backe againe to seeke the way. In two dayes he came to another miserable Towne, called Lacana: an Indian was taken *Lacana.* in that place, and said, that the Countrie of Nondacao *Nondacao.* was a Countrie of great habitation, and the houses scattering the one from the other, as they use to be in

Mountaines, and had great store of Maiz. The Cacique came with his men weeping, like them of Naguatex: for this is their use, in token of obedience: he made him a present of much fish, and offered to doe what he would command him.

Aays. The Governour departed from Nondacao toward Soacatina, and in five dayes journey came to a Province called Aays. That day that the Governour departed from thence, the Indian that guided him said, that in Nondacao he had heard say, that the Indians of Soacatino had seene other Christians, whereof they were all glad; thinking it might be true, and that they might have entred into those parts by Nueva Espanna; and that if it were so, it was in their owne hands to goe out of Florida, if they found nothing of profit: for they feared they should lose themselves in some wildernesse. This Indian led him two dayes out of the way. The Governour commanded to torture him. He said, that the Cacique of Nondacao, his Lord, commanded him to guide them so, because they were his enemies, and that he was to doe as his Lord commanded him. The Governour commanded him to be cast to the dogs: and another guided him to Soacatino, whither he came the day following. It was a very poore Country: there was great want of Maiz in that place. He asked the Indians whether they knew of any other Christians. They said, that a little from thence toward the South they heard they were. He travelled twentie dayes through a Country evill inhabited, where they suffered great scarcitie and trouble. For that little Maiz which the Indians had, they had hidden and buried in the woods, where the Christians, after they were well wearied with travell, at the end of their journey went to seeke by digging what they should eate. At last, comming to a Province that was called Guasco, they found Maiz, wherewith they loaded their horses, and the Indians that they had.

[IV. viii. 1554.]

Soacatino.

Twenty daies travell toward the South.

Guasco: here they found some Turkie stones, & mantles of Cotten wooll. The River of Daycao, which seemeth to be Rio del oro.

The Indians told them there, that ten daies journie from thence toward the West, was a River called Daycao:

whither they went sometimes a hunting and killing of Deere: and that they had seene people on the other side, but knew not what habitation was there. There the Christians tooke such Maiz as they found and could carry, and going ten daies journie through a wildernesse, they came to the River which the Indians had told them of. Ten horsemen which the Governour had sent before, passed over the same, and went in a way that led to the River, and lighted upon a company of Indians that dwelt in very little cabins; who, as soone as they saw them, tooke themselves to flight, leaving that which they had; all which was nothing but miserie and povertie. The Countrie was so poore, that among them all there was not found halfe a pecke of Maiz. The horsemen tooke two Indians, and returned with them to the River, where the Governour staied for them. He sought to learne of them what habitation was toward the West. There was none in the Campe that could understand their language. The Governour assembled the Captaines and principall persons, to determine with their advice what they should doe. And the most part said, that they thought it best to returne backe to Rio grande, or the great River of Guachoya; because that in Nilco and thereabout was store of Maiz; saying, that they would make Pinnaces that winter, and the next Summer passe downe the River to the Seaward in them, and comming to the Sea they would goe along the coast to Nueva Espanna. For though it seemed a doubtfull thing and difficult, by that which they had already alleadged, yet it was the last remedy they had. For by land they could not goe for want of an Interpreter. And they held that the Countrie beyond the River of Daycao, where they were, was that which Cabeça de Vaca mentioned in his relation that he passed of the Indians, which lived like the Alarbes, having no setled place, and fed upon Tunas and rootes of the fields, and wilde beasts that they killed. Which if it were so, if they should enter into it and finde no victuals to passe the winter, they could not choose but perish.

No travelling by land without an Interpreter.

For they were entred already into the beginning of October: and if they staied any longer, they were not able to returne for raine and snowes, nor to sustaine themselves in so poore a Countrie. The Governour (that desired long to see himselfe in a place where hee might sleepe his full sleepe, rather then to conquer and governe a Countrie where so many troubles presented themselves) presently returned backe that same way that he came.

When that which was determined was published to the Campe, there were many that were greatly grieved at it: for they held the Sea voyage as doubtfull, for the evill meanes they had, and as great danger as the travelling by land: and they hoped to finde some rich Countrey before they came to the land of the Christians, by that which Cabeça de Vaca had told the Emperour: and that was this; That after he had found cloathes made of Cotten wooll, hee saw Gold and Silver, and stones of great value. And they had not yet come where hee had beene. For untill that place he alwayes travelled by the Sea coast: and they travelled farre within the land; and that going toward the West, of necessitie they should come where he had beene. For he said, That in a certaine place he travelled many dayes, and entred into the land toward the North. And in Guasco they had already found some Turkie stones, and Mantles of Cotten wooll; which the Indians signified by signes that they had from the West: and that holding that course they should draw neere to the land of the Christians. From Daycao, where now they were, to Rio grando, or the great River, was one hundred and fiftie leagues: which unto that place they had gone Westward. They departed from Nilco in the beginning of December; and all that way, and before from Chilano, they endured much trouble; for they passed through many waters, and many times it rained with a Northren winde, and was exceeding colde, so that they were in open field with water over and underneath them: and when at the end of their dayes journey they found dry ground to rest upon, they gave

Gold, Silver and precious stones in Florida.

Turkie stones and Mantles of Cotten wooll found in Guasco.

150. leagues betweene the River of Daycao, and Rio grande.

The beginning of December.

Raine with Northren winde exceeding cold.

great thankes to God. With this trouble almost all the Indians that served them died. And after they were in Minoya, many Christians also died: and the most part were sicke of great and dangerous diseases, which had a spice of the lethargie.

As soone as they came to Minoya, the Governour commanded them to gather all the chaines together, which every one had to lead Indians in; and to gather all the Iron which they had for their provision, and all the rest that was in the Campe: and to set up a forge to make nailes, and commanded them to cut downe timber for the Brigandines. And a Portugall of Ceuta, who having bin [IV. viii. 1555.] a prisoner in Fez, had learned to saw timber with a long Saw, which for such purposes they had carried with them, did teach others, which helped them to saw timber. And a Genowis, whom it pleased God to preserve (for without him they had never come out of the Countrie; for there was never another that could make Ships but he) with foure or five other Biscaine Carpenters, which hewed his plankes and other timbers, made the Brigandines: And two calkers, the one of Genua, the other of Sardinia did calke them with the tow of an hearbe like Hempe, whereof before I have made mention, which there is named Enequen. And because there was not enough of it, they calked them with the flaxe of the Countrie, and with the Mantles, which they ravelled for that purpose. A Cooper made for every Brigandine two halfe hogs heads, which the Mariners call quarterers, because foure of them hold a Pipe of water. In the moneth of March, when it had not rained a moneth before, the River grew so big, that it came to Nilco, which was nine leagues off: and on the other side, the Indians said, that it reached other nine leagues into the land. In the towne where the Christians were, which was somewhat high ground, where they could best goe, the water reached to the stirrops. They made certaine rafts of timber, and laid many boughes upon them, whereon they set their horses, and in the houses they did the like. But seeing that nothing prevailed,

Enequen is an herbe like Hempe.
Flaxe of the Countrie.
The mighty increasing of the River for two moneths space, to wit, all March and Aprill.
The grand conspiracie of the Indians against the Christians.
Note well.

they went up to the lofts: and if they went out of the houses, it was in Canoes, or on horseback in those places where the ground was highest. So they were two moneths, and could doe nothing, during which time the River decreased not. The Indians ceased not to come unto the Brigantines as they were wont, and came in Canoes. At that time the Governour feared they would set upon him. He commanded his men to take an Indian secretly of those that came to the Towne, and stay him till the rest were gone: and they tooke one. The Governour commanded him to be put to torture, to make him confesse whether the Indians did practise any treason or no. Hee confessed that the Caciques of Nilco, Guachoya, and Taguanate, and others, which in all were about twenty Caciques, with a great number of people, determined to come upon him; and that three dayes before, they would send a great present of fish to colour their great treason and malice, and on the very day they would send some Indians before with another present. And these with those which were our slaves, which were of their conspiracie also, should set the houses on fire, and first of all possesse themselves of the lances which stood at the doores of the houses; and the Caciques with all their men should be neere the Towne in ambush in the wood, and when they saw the fire kindled, should come, and make an end of the conquest. The Governour commanded the Indian to be kept in a chaine, and the selfe same day that he spake of, there came thirty Indians with fish. Hee commanded their right hands to be cut off, and sent them so backe to the Cacique of Guachoya, whose men they were. He sent him word, that he and the rest should come when they would, for he desired nothing more, and that he should know, that they taught not any thing which he knew not before they thought of it. Hereupon they all were put in a very great feare: And the Caciques of Nilco and Taguanate came to excuse themselves; and a few dayes after came he of Guachoya. The Brigandines being finished in the moneth of June,

Thirty Indians of the Cacique of Guachoya have their right hands cut off.

the Indians having told us, That the River increased but once a yeare, when the Snowes did melt, in the time wherein I mentioned, it had already increased, being now in Summer, and having not rained a long time, it pleased God that the flood came up to the Towne to seeke the Brigandines, from whence they carried them by water to the River. Which if they had gone by land, had beene in danger of breaking and splitting their keeles, and to be all undone; because that for want of Iron, the spikes were short, and the plankes and timber were very weake. They shipped two and twenty of the best Horses that were in the Campe, the rest they made dried flesh of; and dressed the Hogges which they had in like manner. They departed from Minoya the second day of July 1543.

The River increaseth but once a yeare when the snows doe melt in March & April.

A miraculous accident.

There went from Minoya three hundred twenty and two Spaniards in seven Brigandines, well made, save that the plankes were thin, because the nailes were short, and were not pitched, nor had any decks to keepe the water from comming in. In stead of deckes they laid plankes, whereon the Marriners might run to trim their sailes, and the people might refresh themselves above and below. They sailed downe the River seventeene dayes; which may be two hundred and fiftie leagues journey, little more or lesse: and neere unto the Sea the River is divided into two armes; each of them is a league and a halfe broad. By the way the Indians set on them: slew some, and wounded many.

They saile downe Rio Grande from Minoya 17. daies before they came to the mouth thereof. This Author accounteth but 300. lost, but Ynca. l. 6. reckoneth 700. saying, that he carried with him from Cuba 1000. Hee addeth, that Juan Ponce de Leon, the first discoverer of Florida, lost himselfe and 80. men.

The eighteenth of July, they went forth to Sea with faire and prosperous weather for their voyage. They sailed with a reasonable good winde that day and the night following, and the next day till evening song, alwaies in fresh water, whereat they wondred much; for they were very farre from land. But the force of the current of the

Lucas Vasques was also slaine there with above 220. Pamphila de Narvaez went with 400. Spaniards, of which not above foure escaped, &c. Donna Isabella Sotos wife died also with griefe. So fatall hath Florida beene to Spaine, that (I hope) Virginia may have the greater dowry for her English husband. They sailed 17. daies down the River, which is about 252. leagues.

River is so great, and the coast there is so shallow and gentle, that the fresh water entreth farre into the Sea.

Fresh water almost two daies sailing in the Sea.

They indured an intolerable storme first, and after that the torment of an infinite swarme of Moskitos which fell upon them, which as soone as they had stung the flesh, it so infected it, as though they had beene venomous. For the sayles which were white seemed blacke with them. Those which rowed, unlesse others kept them away, were not able to rowe. Having passed the feare and danger of the storme, beholding the deformities of their faces, and the blowes which they gave themselves to drive them away, one of them laughed at another. They met all together in the creeke, where the two Brigandines were, which outwent their fellowes. There was found a skumme, which they call Copee, which the Sea casteth up, and it is like Pitch, wherewith in some places, where Pitch is wanting, they pitch their ships: there they pitched their Brigandines. They rested two dayes, and then eftsoones proceeded on their Voyage. They sailed two dayes more, and landed in a Bay or arme of the Sea, where they stayed two dayes.

A swarme of grievous Moskitoes. [IV. viii. 1556.]

A scum of the Sea like Pitch called Copee.

Another deep Bay.

From the time that they put out of Rio Grande, to the Sea, at their departure from Florida, untill they arrived in the River of Panuco, were two and fiftie dayes. They came into the River of Panuco the tenth of September, 1543. There arrived there of those that came out of Florida, three hundred and eleven Christians.

They arrived in the River of Panuco, 1543. Septemb. 10. 311. Christians arrived at Panuco.

From the Port de Spiritu Santo, where they landed when they entred into Florida, to the Province of Ocute, which may be foure hundred leagues, little more or lesse, is a very plaine Countrie, and hath many Lakes and thicke Woods, and in some places they are of wilde Pine-trees; and is a weake soyle: There is in it neither Mountaine nor Hill. The Countrie of Ocute is more fat and fruitfull; it hath thinner Woods, and very goodly Medowes upon the Rivers. From Ocute to Cutifachiqui may be an hundred and thirty leagues: eightie leagues thereof are Desart, and have many Groves of wilde Pine-trees.

Port de Spiritu Santo is in 29. degrees and a halfe on the West side of Florida.

Ocute.

Cutifachiqui.

Through the Wildernesse great Rivers doe passe. From Cutifachiqui to Xuala, may bee two hundred and fifty leagues: it is all an hilly Countrie. Cutifachiqui and Xuala stand both in plaine ground, high, and have goodly Medowes on the Rivers. From thence forward to Chiaha, Coça, and Talise, is plaine ground, drie and fat, and very plentifull of Maiz. From Xuala to Tascaluça may be two hundred and fifty leagues. From Tascaluça to Rio Grande, or the Great River, may be three hundred leagues: the Countrie is lowe, and full of Lakes. From Rio Grande forward, the Countrie is higher and more champaine, and best peopled of all the Land of Florida. And along the River from Aquixo to Pacaha, and Coligoa, are an hundred and fifty leagues: the Countrie is plaine, and the woods thinne, and in some places champaine, very fruitfull and pleasant. From Coligoa to Autiamque are two hundred and fifty leagues of hilly Countrie. From Autiamque to Aguacay, may bee two hundred and thirtie leagues of plaine ground. From Aguacay to the River of Daycao an hundred and twentie leagues, all hilly Countrie.

Xuala.

Chiaha, Cozo, and Talise.

Tascaluza.

Rio Grande.

Aquixo.

Coligoa.

Autiamque.

Aguacay.

From the Port de Spiritu Santo unto Apalache, they travelled from East to West, and North-west. From Cutifachiqui to Xuala from South to North. From Xuala to Coça from East to West. From Coça to Tascaluça, and to Rio Grande, as farre as the Province of Quizquiz and Aquixo from East to West. From Aquixo to Pacaha to the North. From Pacaha to Tulla from East to West: and from Tulla to Autiamque from North to South, to the Province of Guachoya and Daycao, &c.

This Relation of the discovery of Florida was printed in the house of Andrew de Burgos, Printer and Gentleman of the house of my Lord Cardinall the Infant. It was finished the tenth of February, in the yeare one thousand five hundred fiftie and seven, in the Noble and most loyall Citie of Evora.

[Chap. III.

Chap. III.

Divers expeditions from Mexico and other parts of New Spaine and New Biskay, especially to the more Northerly parts of America, by divers Spaniards in a hundred yeares space.

§. I.

The Relation of Nunno di Gusman written to Charles the fift Emperour; translated out of Ramusios third Tome, and abridged.

Writ from Mechuacan to your Majestie (after I had written from Mexico) that I went thence with one hundred and fiftie horsemen, and as many footemen well armed, and with twelve small Peeces of artillery, and 7. or 8000.* Indians our friends, and all necessaries for the discovery and conquest of the Countrey from the Terlichichimechi which continue with New Spaine. I arrived at the River of the purification of Saint Mary, so called for passing it on that day. And because that Countrey was of the enemies, I determined to plant there three great Crosses, which I had carried with me, well wrought and of good proportion, which after Masse said in Procession with Trumpets, the Captaines and I carried on our shoulders, and planted one on the River, and the second before a Church of the Purification, then begun to be builded, and the third before the way which I was to passe,* to the which Crosses with all devotion wee after made due prayer. This done, the standerds of the Crosse began to be directed in the land of those infidels, which had not beene done since the Christians entred those parts. Incontinently some people met us in peace, yeelding themselves and promising service. Meane while

**Ant de Mendoza writeth to the Emperour, that hee had 14000. Indians and 400. horsemen. Mechuacan. Crosses erected.* [IV. viii. 1557.]

**Alle quari, to or at the which.*

the Church was finished and walled about, that fifteene or twenty horsemen might lodge within. There Masse was said, and a Sermon was preached; after which certaine ordinances were red for good orders to be kept in the Armie. After this, on the seventh of February possession was taken in your Majesties name of that New Discoverie, and on the foureteenth was made the request which is accustomed to be made.

Caconci Lord of Mechuacan burned.

In regard of accusations made against Caconci Lord of Mechuacan for rebellion and conspiracie to have slaine us, I marched against him and found the information true, besides other inormities in sacrificing Indians and Christians, as he had used to doe before he was a Christian, whereupon I condemned him to the fire, as may be seene in the processe made against him. Having executed this man and pacified the Countrie, I left a Spaniard in a fortresse there built by the Indians, and travelled six daies in a Countrie not inhabited, three of them downe the River, leaving at every lodging place a Crosse. On the sixt day we came to the Province Cuinao, full of good Townes and abounding in victuals. The people had at first armed themselves for resistance, but when I sent Barius against them, they were all fled to the Mountaines. The light horse tooke some of the slowest not without making some defence. I sent them word not to be afraid, but to returne to their houses and give their obedience, which they refusing, I marched against them with three squadrons, and sent the Overseer on one part, and Captaine Ognate on the other, and I was at their backes. The Overseer found none but women and children. Ognate incountred with about one hundred men with their Bowes and Arrowes wounded sleightly two horses and three men, but many of them were slaine, others taken with women and children about five hundred, which I caused to be kept together, lest the Indians should sacrifice them after their wont. The Cacique was fled to the next Province, called Cuinaquiro, of another signiorie and language. Because hee came not at my sending, I went to

Cuinao.

Cuinquiro. W'retched hospitality.

seeke him. Entring that Province where were many Townes, and great store of Maiz and Fruites, wee found many people dead, sacrificed, which had out of the former Province retired thither for feare of us, with many peeces of flesh which they use to eate. I sent many prisoners to their friends to let them see that I came not to slay them. The language of this people none of ours could understand. The Overseer encountred three hundred armed with Bowes and Arrowes, which the day before had killed foure of our Indians: they set upon ours singing, and killed a Horse, but having lost one hundred of their company, the rest escaped. I found my men cutting the Horse in peeces, that the enemies might see no signe of him, whereby they might know that a Horse could dye. I sent the Campe Master to discover the foord: three Indians set on him, one of which had a two hand sword of wood, which gave him two blowes, but the Indian was slaine. I moved forwards, and discovered many inhabited places. Another skirmish happened with the Indians wherein above one hundred of them were slaine. All the Countrie is full of Maiz, Kidney-beanes, Hens, Parrats, Palmitos: there growes much Cotten, and some shewes appeared of Gold and Silver found with some of the inhabitants.

Couragious Indian.

I procured the Cacique to come to me with all his principall men, whom I entertained with much kindnesse, and made a speech to them, giving them to understand what God was, and the Pope, and what they ought to doe to be saved: and how the King of Castile was the Minister of God in earth, and Lord of all those parts subject to him; and that to me in his royall name they were to yeelde obedience and service; and that they should abstaine from sacrificing & adoration to Idols and Divels, which they had hitherto done, because God alone was to be worshipped, feared and served, and after him they ought to serve and obey on earth the King of Castile. The Cacique answered that till that houre hee had never knowne any thing of that which I had spoken, nor had

Spanish preaching to convert Infidels.

Indian simplicitie.

ever heard of any but me that which I declared; but that he now conceived great pleasure to have understood it, and that from henceforth he would hold for God the King of Castile, and would worship him. I answered that hee ought not so to doe, for the King of Castile was a mortall man as we our selves are, but that hee was Lord and Soveraigne over us all, and given to us of God to rule and governe us, and we were to serve and obey him. And God above, which created heaven and earth, and all things visible and invisible, is he which ought to be worshipped, feared, and served above all things, forasmuch as he giveth us, and of his hands we hold the life and being which we have, and he is able to take it from us at his pleasure.

In this manner he stood advised of that which he ought to doe, although their wit and capacitie be very small, and their will much disagreeing, by reason of their ancient custome of serving the Divell. But seeing all things must have a beginning and labour, and herein especially the grace of God is necessary and the holy Ghost to be [IV. viii. infused; it is to be beleeved and hoped of his infinite 1558.] gentlenesse and mercy, that having directed your Majestie to discover this place and conquest, in vertue thereof and good fortune, after that of God, all things shall be done prosperously, and he will suffer to give to this Nation knowledge of the truth. And if it be not so suddenly done, yet the way shall be opened, and the Countrie conversed in, and inhabited of Christians, which adore and laud his holy Name, where before, the Devill was adored with so many idolatries; and the Baners of his most holy Crosse shall be fixed in all those Countries, that when he shall send his Grace, those Nations may be prepared to receive it. I gave to that Cacique all the people which I had taken, and they beganne to reinhabite their houses: and after a most sumptuous Crosse placed there, and possession of those Provinces taken in your Majesties name, I departed by the way of another Province called Cuiseo, situate on the other side of a great River *Cuiseo.* issuing out of a great Lake. After a battell with this

People, wherein we prevailed by our Artillerie, the Cacique sent a Messenger to me, by whom I sent him word, that we came thither to have them our friends, and to take possession of that Countrie, in the name of the King of Castile. Having obtayned provisions, and passing further, in an Iland in the River happened a hard skirmish, in which divers were hurt, many of theirs slaine and taken, and the rest fled. The last which was taken, and which fought most couragiously, was a man in habite of a woman, which confessed, that from a childe he had gotten his living by that filthinesse, for which I caused him to be burned.

Sodomite professed.

Returning to the Campe, I caused the principall Lords of the Countrie to come to me, and pacified them, giving them clothes, restoring the prisoners, and bidding them returne to their habitations: giving them to understand on behalfe of the King of Castile, That he was Lord and the Minister of God in Earth, in which God, the King and all men of the world are to beleeve, to adore, feare and serve him as God alone, maker and Creator of all things: and on Earth to be vassals, and to obey the commandements of the King of Castile, as his Minister: and to mee in his Royall name, and that they should not worship Idols, nor eate mans flesh. They answered me, that so they would doe, and their sacrificing to Idols hitherto grew from hence, that they knew not what God was; and because the Devill commanded them to observe those formes, and desired flesh and bloud of them, giving them to understand, that he was the Lord of all the world, whereupon for feare they had committed this errour, which henceforth they would cease to doe. Great are the sinnes of all men living, seeing God permits so great abominations to bee committed against his divine Majestie, and that such a multitude of soules are lost, and remaine blinde as brute beasts, and worse: for they follow their naturall course, which these have lost: although some not onely publish the warre which is made upon them to be unjust, but also seeke to disturbe it, being the most worthie and holy worke, and of most merit, (with the punishing of

Note well this Divinitie.

that Nation) that nothing can be done in the service of God greater, howsoever it be done by the hands of great sinners, and especially by mee who am the greatest of all, since that nothing is hidden from his heate, and as the mercifull and giver of all good, I hope in his infinite clemency that he will receive my meane desire, and small paine and labour, in diminution of my sinnes; and will permit by his infinite bountie and grace, and because your Majestie doth all for the service of God which it doth, whose charge it is to guide the enterprise in such manner, that the beginning be with manifesting his Name, where before, that of the Enemie was served wholly, and adored. Bee it knowne to your Majestie, that wheresoever I come, I give all the people to understand what God is, and who your Majestie is. The Towne above this place or ford of the River is called Guanzebi, where a Crosse was planted.

Preaching by the Sword a worthie, holy, meritorious, satisfactory worke.

Guanzebi.

Departing toward the Province of Tonola, I sent the Overseer to the Province of Cuynaccaro, on the other side of the River. The Seniory of that Province (for they had no particular Lord) sent Messengers that they expected mee in peace, and would give mee what I would howsoever Coiula, Coiutla, and Cuynaccaro, the three neighbour Provinces were fooles, and resolved upon warre. These fought with us so valiantly, that some one Indian would turne his head against a Light-horseman, and taking his Lance with one hand, with the other would lay on him with a club which they use; others would lay hold on the Bridles, and those which have beene in New Spaine, and other parts, testifie that more couragious Indians have not beene seene. They use Bowes, Arrowes, Clubs, and two-hand Swords of wood, a Sling, and some Targets. The most of them feare the Horses, holding opinion that they would eate them, and a thousand of them have beene afraid of three Horsemen; yet nevertheless some are thus hardy. The Countrie is temperate, they are great Sacrificers, have Silver, and some Gold: but I made shew not to care for it, and said I had no need of Gold, but

Tonola a free State.

Cuinaccaro, Coiula, and Coiutla.

Valiant Indians.

that they should serve, and not sacrifice as before. In the place of the victorie was erected a faire Church called, The victorie of the Crosse, and a Crosse of sixtie foot long there erected. Zapatula received me in peace, Aximocuntla people fled, yet sent store of victuals, as did also Ixtatlan.

Zapatula.

Aximocuntla.

Indian Christianitie but in name and names.

Our Indians in our march had slaine and sacrificed certaine women and children, the signes whereof I found, it being a thing impossible to remedie, notwithstanding all the punishment I inflicted, howsoever some say, they are good Christians. And let your Majestie beleeve, that they doe at this present time as they did before, but secretly. And for this, and for other just causes which I have written to your Majestie, there ought not so much libertie be given them, nor more then that which is accustomed to their state and living; for to doe otherwise, is to give occasion to them to be bad, and especially this People is of such nature, that they must be very much holden under, and made to feare, that they may be good Christians.

[IV. viii. 1559.]

Christians for feare.

Xalpa.

From Xalpa three Embassadors came to me, with offer of peace, subjection, and certaine Silver plates, and an Idoll made of Cotton, and full of bloud, and a Rasor of stone in the midst, wherewith they sacrificed, which was burned in their sight, to their great amazement, who thought it would have destroyed all. Against Mandie Thursday a Church was erected of reeds in a day, and devout Procession was then made of more then thirtie Disciplinants. On Easter Tuesday I departed thence to Tespano, thence by Mount Amec to Teulinchano, a strong place, being all of stone cut round, where every Lord of the Province ought to have a house wherein to sacrifice; there had beene a great Idoll of Gold, destroyed in other warres. The Palaces were of stone engraven, some pieces of eighteene spannes, with great Statues of men, with other things like those of Mexico. The Courts of the Palaces were spacious, and faire, with Fountaines of good water. Thence I sent Captaine Verdugo to Xaltenango,

Bloudy Idoll.

Bloudy Procession.

Teulinchan.

Xaltenango.

thorow a Valley of sixe leagues, but the people were fled to the Mountaines. A Crosse was planted, and Masse said for the service of God, there where the Devill had so long beene served, and had received so many Sacrifices, I divided the Armie, one part to goe to Mechuacan (another Province, not that of New Spaine) neere to the South Sea, I marched with the other to Guatatlan, and there planted a Crosse on a Hill, and thence to Tetitlan, accompanied with the Caciques of the Countrie; thence to Xalisco. Heere the way was so bad that in fifteene dayes I rode not three, and many beasts were lost.

Mechuacan on the South Sea.

Xalisco.

I sent to the principall Lords of Xalisco, to whom I made the request accustomed. They were all retired to the Mountaines. Finding my selfe neere the Sea, I tooke possession thereof for your Majestie. At Tepique two of the Lords of Xalisco came to me in peace, and to yeeld obedience, as three other Townes had done neere the Sea, where are said to bee Mines of Gold. There I made Officers in your Majesties name, as being a new Discoverie and Conquest separate from New Spaine, that there might be some to receive your Majesties fifths. Two Crosses were erected in Xalisco and two in Tepeque, a place well watered, and very fertile. In marching from thence a great and dangerous battell was given us by the Indians wherein we obtained victorie. They wounded fiftie Horses, of which onely sixe died (one Horse I assure your Majestie, is worth above foure hundred Pezos) divers of the principall Commanders were wounded also. The next day I made a Procession with a Te Deum. Thence I passed the great River of the Trinitie, to come to Omitlan, the chiefe of that Province. The Countrie is very hot, and the River full of Crocodiles, and there are many venomous Scorpions. Here was erected one Church, and two Crosses. Aztatlan is three dayes journey hence where they prepare to give mee battell. From thence ten dayes further I shall goe to finde the Amazons, which some say dwell in the Sea, some in an arme of the Sea, and that they are rich, and accounted of the people

Tepique a new Province.

Amazonian Dreames.

for Goddesses, and whiter then other women. They use Bowes, Arrowes and Targets: have many and great Townes; at a certaine time admit them to accompanie them, which bring up the males, as these the female issue, &c. From Omitlan a Province of Mecuacan of the greater Spaine, on the eighth of July, 1530.

Pet. Alvarados Letters to Cortese which had sent him on this Discovery and Conquest.

I had thought but for prolixitie, here to have added Alvarados Conquests the other way from Mexico, two of whose Letters are extant in Ramusio. The later of them is dated from the Citie of Saint Iago, which hee founded. Hee writes that hee was well entertained in Guatimala, and passed alongst with divers fortunes, foure hundred leagues from Mexico conquering; and let your Lordship beleeve mee, this Countrie is better inhabited and peopled then all that which your Lordship hath hitherto governed. In this Province I have found a Vulcan, the most dreadfull thing that ever was seene; which casteth forth stones as great as a house, burning in light flames, which falling, breake in pieces, and cover all that fiery Mountaine. Threescore leagues before wee saw another Vulcan, which sends forth a fearefull smoake, ascending up to Heaven, and the body of the smoake encompasseth halfe a league. None drinke of the streames which runne downe from it, for the Brimstone sent. And especially there comes thence one principall River, very faire, but so hot, that certaine of my companie were not able to passe it, which were to make out-roades into certaine places; and searching a Ford, found another cold River running into it, and where they met together, the Ford was temperate and passable. I beseech your Lordship to grant mee the favour to bee Governour of this Citie, &c. From Saint Iago, July 28. 1524.

Two most terrible Vulcans.

§. II. [IV. viii. 1560.]

The Voyages of Frier Marco de Niça, Don Fr. Vasquez de Coronado, Don Antonio de Espeio, and divers into New Mexico, and the adjoyning Coasts and Lands.

THere arose some strife betwixt Don Antonio de Mendoza Vice-roy of New Spaine, and Cortes, each striving to exceed the other in New Discoveries, and complaining of each other to the Emperour. Whiles Cortez went to that end into Spaine, Mendoza hearing somewhat by Dorantez, one of Narvaez his companions in the former inland Discoveries from Florida, sent both Frier Marco de Niça, with Steph. a Negro of Dorantez, and afterwards Captaine Francis Vasquez de Coronado, by Land as likewise Ferdinando Alarchon by Sea. Cortez also sent Francis Ulloa with a Fleet of three ships for discoverie of the same Sea, commonly called the South Sea. The Voyages Ramusio hath published at large in Italian, and Master Hakluyt out of him in English. I shall borow leave to collect out of them and Gomara, and F. Ivan Gonzales de Mendoza, and others, some breefe heads of things agreeing to our purpose for the better knowledge of the Northerne America. *Lop. Gomara. hist. gen. c. 212.*

Francis Vasquez de Coronado Governour of Nueva Galicia, Anno 1539. writes, that hee arrived in the Province of Topira, where the Indians were fled into the Mountaines for feare of the Christians. They have houses of stone, store of Gold, Emeralds, and other Jewels; have strong armour of Silver fashioned in shapes of beasts, worship herbs and birds, and sing songs to them. Neere thereto is another Province where the people goe naked. Their Priests which they call Chichimechas keepe in the woods without houses, and eate things given of almes by the people. Both men and women goe naked; the men tye their privie member to the knee; they have *Topira.* *Impious pieties.*

Temples covered with straw, the windowes full of dead mens skulls. They have in a ditch before the Temple the figure of a Serpent of divers metals, with his tayle in his mouth. One every yeere is sacrificed by lot, crowned with flowers and layd in that ditch, and fire put to him; which his death he takes patiently, and the yeere following is worshipped with hymnes, and after that his head is set up with the rest. They sacrifice their prisoners burning them in another ditch without such ceremonies.

F. Marco de Niças Voyage to Cebola.

Frier Marco de Niça went from Saint Michael in Culiacan, two hundred leagues from Mexico, with Stephen the Negro, and other Indians, and came to Petatlan, and thence passed a Desart foure dayes, and came to certaine Indians, which made much of him, sought to touch his garments, and called him Hayota, that is, A man comne from Heaven. Thence he travelled to Vacupa, fortie leagues from the Sea (of California) and thence to Cevola, which is thirty dayes journey: hee learned that the people by the Sea have store of Pearles, and Targets of Kow-hides. By the way he had understanding of the Kingdomes of Totonteac and Acus. They shewed him an hide halfe as big againe as the hide of an Oxe, and said, it was the skinne of a beast which had but one horne upon his fore-head, bending toward his breast, and that out of the same goeth a point forward with which he breakes any thing that he runneth against. The colour of the hide was as of a Goat-skinne, the haire a finger thicke. He passed thorow two Desarts. The men of Cevola slue Stephen the Negro. Frier Marke went within sight of it, and sayth it is a faire Citie seated at the foot of a Hill.

An unknowne kinde of Unicorne.

Expedition of Don Francisco Vasquez.

Upon this newes Captaine Vasquez aforesaid in Aprill, 1540. travelled with 400. Horsemen, and a great Armie of Spaniards and others, many of which died of famine both Indians and Horses. The wayes were so rough, that the Sheepe and Lambes which they carried for their provision lost their hoofes. The sixe and twentieth of May hee arrived in the Valley of Coracones, five dayes journey

Ill wayes.

from the Westerne Sea, and thence hee went to Chichilcale, and with much scarsitie to Cevola, which is the name of a Province in which are seven Cities neere together: their houses are of stone foure or five stories high; they use Ladders in stead of staires, and have Cellers under the ground made for Winter in manner of Stoves. The seven Cities are but small Townes with in foure leagues together. In one were two hundred houses compassed with walls, and some three hundred other unwalled. They goe for the most part naked, use painted Mantles, seeme not witty enough to build such houses; have good quantitie of Turquesses, some Emeralds also and Granates; great Guinee Corkes; and season (in Summer) as in Mexico; many beasts, as Tigres, Beares, Lions, Porkespicks, and certaine Sheepe as big as Horses, with very great hornes and little tayles. I have seene their hornes so great that it is a wonder. I have seene the heads of wilde Goats, pawes of Beares and skinnes of wilde Boares. There is game of Deere, Ounces, and very great Stags, Hares, Conies. He sent the Vice-roy an embroidered garment of Needle-worke wrought by those Indians, and clothes painted by them with the pictures of the beasts of the Countrey. It is very cold in Winter, although it be in 37. degrees and a halfe. The snow continueth seven moneths, in so much that the people use furred Mantles, and other winter provisions. The Souldiers seeing little here to bee had, were offended with the Friers which had commended Civola, and loth to returne emptie to Mexico, they proceeded to Acuco, and Cardenas with his troope of Horse went thence to the Sea, Vasquez with the rest to Tiguez, on the banke of a great River. There they had newes of Axa and Quivira. They heard of a bearded rich King also called Tatarcax, whom they would visit; they burnt a Towne, and lost thirtie Horses in their way, and spent 45. dayes in siege of a Towne, which dranke snowe in stead of water and burned their goods to prevent the Spanish spoyle, then issuing by force with their wives and children, few escaping: and divers Spaniards also

Cibola.

*Sheepe as big as Horses, with huge hornes. Indian embroiderie. *I have a Map made in Mexico, 1585, which placeth Cibola in 30. and an halfe, and describeth in New Mexico, on Rio del Norte about 50. Townes with Spanish names, standing neere each other, from 32. to 33. and a little more. But the Province of Cibola he maketh to be another.* [IV. viii. 1561.]

were slaine, and 80. wounded, besides Horses. They burnt the Towne and marched to Cicuic, horse and men passing over the River upon the Ice being in 37. degrees: and foure leagues from thence met with a new kind of *Strange Kine.* Kine wilde and fierce, of which they slue 80. the first day for their provision. From Cicuic they went to Quivira neere 300. leagues, thorow woodlesse Plaines, making heapes of Oxe-dung for way-markes against their returne. All that Plaine is as full of hunch-backed Kine as Serena in Spaine of Sheepe, and no other people but *Great haile.* the Herd-men. It hailed one day stones as big as **Melangole.* Oranges.* At length they came to Quivira and there found King Tatarrax, a hoary man, naked and with a brasse Jewell at his necke; whereat not a little vexed to see themselves gulled with reports of riches, and the Crosse worshipped, and Queene of Heaven, of which they saw no signe, they returned to Mexico, and there arrived in March, 1542. Vasquez fell from his Horse in Tiguez, and withall out of his wits.

Quivira described out of Gomara. Ships seene. Quivira is in 40. degrees temperate, well watered, and hath store of fruits. They are apparelled with Oxe-hides, and Deeres skinne. They saw ships on the coast with Alcatrazes of Gold and Silver in their Prowes, which they esteemed to bee of China, making signes that they had sayled thirtie dayes. Some Friers returned to Quivira, and were slaine. As for those hunch-backed Kine, they are the food of the Natives, which drinke the bloud hot, and eate the fat, and often ravine the flesh raw. They wander in companies, as the Alarbes (and Tartars) following the pastures according to the seasons. That which they eate not raw, they rost, or warme rather at a fire of Oxe-dung, and holding the flesh with his teeth, cut it with Rasors of stone. These Oxen are of the bignesse *The bunch-backed Oxen described.* of our Bulls, but their hornes lesse, with a great bunch on their foreshoulders, and more haire on their fore-parts then behind, which is like wooll; a mane like a Horses on their backe bone, and long haire from the knees downward, with store of long haire at the chinne and throat,

a long flocke also at the end of the males tailes. The Horses fled from them, of which they slue some, being enraged. They are meat, drinke, shooes, houses, fire, vessels, and their Masters whole substance. Other creatures as big as Horses the Spaniards for their fine wooll called Sheepe; one of their hornes ordinarily weighed fiftie pounds. There are also great Dogs which will fight with a Bull, able to carrie fiftie pounds weight in their huntings and removals.

Sheepe with hornes of fiftie pounds.

Great Dogs: Such the Savages had in Frobushers Voyage.

ANno 1581. Frier Augustine Ruiz, with two other Friers, and eight Souldiers travelled from the Mines of Saint Barbara to Los Tiguas, two hundred and fifty leagues Northwards, where, upon occasion of one of the Friers being slaine, the Souldiers returned. The two Friers and a Mestizo stayed. Whereupon the Franciscans carefull of their two Brethren, procured Antonio de Espeio, a rich Mexican, with Frier Bernardine Beltran, and others, licensed to follow him to set forth on the said Discoverie, in November, An. 1582. with an hundred and fifteene Horses, and store of provisions. Hee passed the Conchos, and the Passaguates, and Tobosos, and Jumanos, (finding many Silver Mines in the way) and then came to people, which for want of Language they could not name, and heard by one of the Conchos, of a great Lake, and Townes neere it, with houses of three or foure stories, but went not thither. Fifteene dayes they travelled thorow Woods of Pine-trees, and two thorow Woods of Poplars and Walnuts, still keeping by the River of the North, as they called it, till they came to a Countrie which they called New Mexico. They came to ten Townes situate on both sides the River, which used them kindly. Their houses are of foure stories, well built, with Stoves for Winter: their apparel of Cotton, and Deeres skinnes; both men and women ware Boots and Shooes with soles of Neats leather. Each house had an Oratorie for the Devill, where they set him meate, for whose ease (as they say) they erect Chappels also in the high-way. Thence they came to

Ruiz his Voyage to Tiguas.

Ant. de Espeio his New Mexico.

Neats leather Shooes.

Tiguas in which were sixteene Townes: in Poala they
Friers slaine. had slaine the two Friers, and now therefore fled to the
Hennes many. Mountaines. They found many Hennes in the Countrey, and many metals. Hearing that there were rich Townes Eastwards, they travelled two dayes, and found eleven Townes, and (as they thought) fortie thousand people. There are signes of rich Mines. They heard of a Province
Quires. Quires, sixe leagues higher up the River, which they visited, and found five Townes. They saw there a Pie
Painted Umbrelas. in a Cage, and certaine traisols or shadowes, such as they use in China, in which were painted the Sunne, Moone
Note the Neernesse of Virginia. and Starres. They found themselves in 37. degrees and a halfe. Fourteene leagues more to the North, they came to the Cunames, which had five Townes; the greatest was Cia, with eight Market places, the houses plaistered and painted with divers colours, the people many and more civill then any they had seene.

They travelled thence North-westward to a Countrie which had seven great Townes, and in them thirtie thousand soules. Fifteene leagues further Westward they
Acoma. came to Acoma, a Towne of sixe thousand persons, seated
[IV. viii. on a Rocke fifty paces high, without any passage to it but
1562.] by staires hewen in the Rocke; all their water was kept in Cisternes. They travelled hence foure and twentie leagues Westward to Zuny or Cibola, where Vasquez had beene, and erected Crosses, still standing. Three Indians of his Armie were still alive here, which told Espeio, of a great Lake sixtie dayes journey thence, upon the bankes whereof were many Townes which had store of Gold. Whereupon, the rest returning, hee with nine companions determined to goe thither, and came to a populous
Mohotze. Province, called Mohotze, and being well entertained,
Pretie policy. hee perswaded the Indians to build a Fort, to secure them from the Horses, which hee said would otherwise eate them; which they did. Here he left some of his companie, and went to discover certaine rich Mines, whereof he had heard, five and fortie leagues Westward, which hee found rich of Silver. He had further intelligence.

also of that great Lake, and having travelled twelve leagues to the Hubates and Tamos, populous Provinces, being so few, they returned in July, 1583. by another way, downe a River called, De las Vaccas, or Of Kine, an hundred and twenty leagues, still meeting with store of those cattell, and thence to Conchos, and so to the Valley of Saint Bartholmew in New Biscay.

Bartholmew Cano writ from Mexico, in May, 1590. that Rodrigo del Rio, Governour of New Biscay was sent by the Vice-roy with five hundred Spaniards to the conquest of Cibola. *Canos Letter is in Mast. Hakl.*

NOw for Cortez his three ships, they set forth from Acapulco, the eighth of July, 1539. and sayled alongst the coast Northwards to Cape Roxo, (as they stiled it,) and so to the River of Saint Crosses, which coast some thought to bee part of the Continent, others to bee but broken Lands or Ilands: and sayled so farre in the same, that I am loth to follow them, the particulars being both in Ramusio, and Master Hakluyt. Fernando Alarchon, Anno 1540. was sent by Mendoza the Vice-roy, with two ships, who sayth, hee went to the bottome of the Bay (of California) and sayled up the River farre into the Countrie. I remit the desirous Reader to the Authours aforesaid. To mee, Ullua the Marquesses Generall seemes to make California nothing but Ilands, and to have sayled within a great way, and after out of them: this other æmulous Discoverer would seeme to finde it a Bay, and therefore goeth up the River; later Maps make it an Iland, as wee have said; a Letter 1595. from Los Angelos, calleth them Ilands, and sayth, they are rich, and that the Vice-roy sent to conquer them. But I am Sea-sicke, and therefore returne to our Land-discoverers. In which wee have a Jesuite first, to entertaine you, and after that, a Letter of later Newes of Onnates Discoveries in those Northerne parts of America. All which may be of use one day, when our Virginian Plantation (which blusheth to see so little done after eighteene yeeres continued habi- *Francis de Ulluas Voyage in the South Sea. California.* *F. Alarchons Voyage.* *Letter in Master Hakl.*

tation, with so much cost, and so many lives and livelihoods spent thereon) shall lift up her head with more vive alacritie, and shake her glorious lockes, and disparkle her triumphant lookes, thorow the inland Countries to the Westerne Ocean. And indeed for Virginias sake wee have so long held you in Spanish discourses, of whose Acts this Chapter had beene the last, but that the leaven which leaveneth in so great part the Spanish lumpe may be knowne, to awaken English vigilance to prevent it in themselves (they had a faire caveat 1588.) and to avoide the like with others, I shall adde to these their Discoveries a Spanish Traveller, Frier, Bishop, to discover their Discoverers; which shall cast up the American parcels, the particular relations of which you have had already, and yeeld you the totall summe for a conclusion to our Spanish-Indian Peregrinations.

§. III.

Extracts out of certaine Letters of Father Martin Perez of the Societie of Jesus, from the new Mission of the Province of Cinoloa to the Fathers of Mexico, dated in the moneth of December, 1591. With a Letter added, written 1605. of later Discoveries.

Tauteca. July 6. 1590. SInce my last Letters, dated the sixth of July, among the Tautecœ, on which day wee came into this Province of Cinoloa, being guided by the Governour Roderigo del Rio, we passed and travelled through divers Castles, Countrie Villages, Mines of Metall, Shepheards houses, Townes of Spaniards, and certaine Signiories, helping our neighbours by our accustomed duties, so that wee were alwaies full of businesse. Wee passed over in eight dayes the rough and hard and painefull Mountaine Tepesuan, seeing no living creature, save certaine Fowles. The cause whereof is, the force of certaine Muskitos, which trouble Horses, whereof is

Tepesuan a mightie high Mountaine.

exceeding abundance in all the Mountaine, which were most noisome to our Horses. There met us certaine Cuimechi, which are warlike Indians, which offered us bountifully such as they had, without doing us any harme. There are almost an infinite number of these, which wander dispersed up and downe, doing nothing else but hunt and seeke their food. And it was told us, that three thousand of them were assembled in a part of the hill, which besought the Governour, that he would cause them to be taught and instructed in the Christian Faith. Their Minister, which was but onely one, came to visite us. There met us also a certaine Spanish Captaine, which had the government of six Castles or Countrie Villages in a part of the Mountaine, who knowing well enough what the societie ment by these missions, wrote unto the father Visitor, requesting him to grant him one of the Fathers, by whose travell twenty thousand soules might be instructed, which he would recommend unto him.

Cuimechi warlike Indians.

[IV. viii. 1563.]

These and other Villages we passed by not without griefe, because it was resolved already among us, that we should stay in no other place, but in this Province. A few dayes before our comming thither we wrote to six or seven Spaniards, which dwell there without any Priest, and heard Masse onely once a yeare, to wit, when any Priest, dwelling thirtie or forty leagues off, came unto them, to confesse and absolve them being penitent; who being accompanied with most of the chiefe Indians, met us with exceeding great joy and gladnesse, above twenty leagues distant from their dwellings, and accompanied us unto the second River of this Province, wherein the towne of Saint Philip and Jacob standeth. This Province is from Mexico above three hundred leagues, and is extended towards the North. On the right hand it hath the Mountaines of the Tepesuanes, on the left hand the Mediterrane Sea, or the Gulfe of California: on another part it stretcheth even to Cibola and California, which are Provinces toward the West, very great and well inhabited. On one side, which regardeth the North, new

The towne of Saint Philip and Jacob on the second River of Ginoloa.

It is but 190. *leagues indeed from Mexico.*

Mexico is but two dayes journey distant from the uttermost River of this Province (as we were enformed by the Governour) which is so famous and renowned, and so full of Pagan superstition, whereof divers have often written.

Often writing of New Mexico.

They measure and divide the Province of Cinaloa with eight great Rivers which runne through the same. The reason of that division is this, because all the Castels and Villages of the inhabitants are setled neere the bankes and brinkes of the Rivers, which are replenished with fish, and which in short space doe fall into the Mediterrane Sea, or Gulfe of California. The soyle is apt for tillage and fruitfull, and bringeth forth such things as are sowne in it. The ayre is cleere and wholesome. The Pesants and husband men reape twice a yeare, and among other things, store of Beanes, Gourds, Maiz, and such kinde of Pulse, whereof wee and they eate so plentifully, that there is no speech of the rising of the price of things, or of Famine; nay rather a great part of the old crop perisheth oftentimes, and they cast away their old Maiz, to make roome for the new. They have great store of Cotten Wooll, whereof they make excellent cloathes, wherewith they are apparelled. Their apparell is a peece of cloath tyed upon their shoulders, wherewith as with a cloak they cover their whole body, after the manner of the Mexicans.

Cotten wooll.

Their apparel.

True it is, that though they be all workemen, yet for the most part of the yeare they are not covered, but goe naked; yet all of them weare a broad girdle of the said Cotten cloath cunningly and artificially wrought, with figures of divers colours in the same, which the shels of Cockles and Oysters joyned artificially with bones doe make. Moreover, they thrust many threds through their eares, whereon they hang earerings; for which purpose they bore the eares of their children as soone as they be borne in many places, and hang earerings, round Stones, and Corall in them, so that each eare is laden with fiftie of these Ornaments at least, for which cause they alwayes sleepe not lying on their sides, but with their face upward.

The women are decently covered from their waste downeward, being all the rest naked. The men as well as the women weare long haire; the women have it hanging downe their shoulders, the men often bound up and tyed in divers knots: they thrust Corals in it, adorned with divers feathers and cockle shels, which adde a certaine beautie and ornament to the head. They weare many round Beades of divers colours about their neckes. They are of great stature, and higher then the Spaniards by a handfull, so that as wee sate upright upon our horses, without standing on tiptoe, they easily could embrace us. They are valiant and strong, which the warres which they had with the Spaniards doe easily shew, wherein though they sustained no small damages, yet were they not unrevenged, nor without the bloud of their adversaries. When they would fight resolutely for their uttermost libertie, they denounced and appointed the day of battell. Their weapons are Bowes and poysoned Arrowes, and a kinde of clubbe of hard wood, wherewith they neede not to strike twice to braine a man. They use also certaine short javelins made of red wood, so hard and sharpe, that they are not inferiour to our armed speares. And as fearefull and terrible as they be to their enemies, so quiet and peaceable are they among themselves and their neigbours, and you shall seldome finde a quarrellour or contentious person. The Spaniards after certaine conflicts at length made friendship with them, leaving their Countrie to them: but those eight Spaniards, whom I mentioned before, live quietly among them: and though they be called Lords, yet are they contented with such things as the Indians give them, offering no violence nor molestation to any man.

Their haire.

Their great Stature.

Their valour.

Their weapons.

Eight Spaniards living in Cinoloa.

Upon our comming into these Countries, the Indians stirred up with the fame of new men, came by flockes unto our lodging, and witnessed their love, with exceeding great signification of good will, with salutation and words, which yet we understood not, staying so long with us till they were friendly dismissed by us: neither neglected [IV. viii. 1564.]

Readinesse to heare the Gospell.

they the opportunitie offred upon the first occasion, to shew how greatly they affected the Christian religion; for as soone as we entred into the first Villages of this Province, the day following there assembled a great number of old and yong folkes to be baptized, which was a great comfort unto us; we christened full fourescore boyes and girles; we raised the mindes of the rest with good hopes, that assoone as they were instructed with necessary doctrine, they should be partakers of the same Sacrament. Wee found foure hundred Christians, which having bin baptized by the Franciscane Fathers, which came into these parts twelve yeares past, when at length they were slaine by the Inhabitants were left destitute of a teacher; neither can all of them be instructed by us, unlesse some helpe be sent us; for besides that the people are many, they also differ in language and tongues, although there be two chiefe and most generall.

Foure hundred baptized by Franciscans, (slaine there) twelve yeares before.

Difference of language.

We learne two tongues with great celeritie, which albeit they be not so vulgar and generall, yet are they more necessary: and we have profited so much in three moneths, that wee could easily understand the Indians when they spake. Wherefore wee began to instruct in the Catechisme, and with godly speeches to exhort the Nation, to keepe them within the compasse of their duetie, and to deliver them of all feare: when they see that they receive of us the service and formes of praying to God, not in a strange but in their owne language; the which together with the Catechisme they learne with great care and shortnesse of time. And now wee have Christened above sixteene hundred, as well those of yeares as boyes; besides those foure hundred, which being christened by the aforesaid Fathers, almost in their infancie, and fully twelve yeares neglected, had scarsely any shew of Christendome, but were married with Pagans after their Countrey fashion. From many of them we tooke away their Concubines, because such is the custome of this Nation, that they take as many as they are able to keepe. Many of them we likewise married.

Instruction in the Catechism.

And why doe you teach Babylon, or to babble in a strange tongue here, instead of praying? Sixteen hundred newly Christened.

Concubines.

There are also many more which desire to be baptized, but since the people be exceeding many, and the workemen but two onely, we are not able to sustaine the labour. The last of November I visited the people of this tract or River, and in the space of twelve or thirteene miles, there are foure thousand Indians at the least, which use Bowes and Arrowes, besides women and children. Among these are certaine of bad name and fame, which have familiarity and acquaintance with the Divell, with whom they commit abominable and very horrible sinnes.

Familiarity with the Divel.

Many of them fled into the Mountaines, that their children might not be Christened, because the Divell had reported abroad, that all they should die that were Baptized. Notwithstanding in seven or eight dayes we Christened two hundred and fortie children. Necessitie enforced me to leave them, and to goe to another place, to helpe our neighbours: yet I am greatly desirous to returne moved with a certaine pitie, because I see this people so strongly possessed by the Divell being utterly ignorant of the faith.

240. children Christened.

There are now thirteene Churches in these three Rivers, besides those which are erected by little and little, neither have we any more holy Vestments for them, then those which we carry about with us, and one other furniture of an Altar, which belongeth to the Spaniards: we have never a Bell in any of these Churches. We furnished an Alter with one Crosse and certaine paper Images, which were brought hither from Culhuacan, because we want other furniture, which we looke from your Reverencies, and it will be very profitable, since this Nation is so delighted with outward ornaments.

Thirteene Churches in three Rivers.

Culhuacan.

We celebrated the dedication of a Church at Petatlan, on the day of the conception of the Virgin, the Mother of God. In the same I set up a certaine small Image consecrated to the conception of the blessed Virgin: We went on Procession, wherein the Boyes sang the Te Deum laudamus in the vulgar language: I added a Prayer, and then red Masse, because the singers are yet ignorant of

Petatlan in 25. degrees and a halfe. The Christianity there taught.

Song, and can sing nothing else but Amen, with a rude and untuned voyce. Many of the Pagans were present, which were invited to this holy day from other places, and were almost amazed beholding these first beginnings, wishing that the like solemnitie might be kept in their Villages. As farre as hitherto we are able to gather, the Indians the inhabitants of these and the neighbour Pagan Castles, where there is greater store of people, and lesse diversitie of languages, are quicke and prompt, tractable, and of easier conversion, then any that I have hitherto seene or knowne. I could wish that I might sometime live privately with my selfe, but such is the concourse of commers, that they love me not thus quiet, and though I be silent, yet they minister divers speeches, inquiring of our things, and rehearsing their owne, and come to us in the night to prayer. They are ingenious and docile, although they have no teacher, by whose instruction this force of nature should be exercised. They live in Castles and Countrey villages, in houses joyned neere the one to the other, and builded of chalke and timber, which they adorne with Mats and coverings of reedes.

Their houses.

In the marriages which they make, when they take many wives, it seemeth not inconvenient or indecent unto them, to take their sister, mother, or daughter, because they thinke that this maketh much for domesticall peace, and that thereby all emulation may be avoided. And though they make no account of affinitie, yet they have exceeding great regard of consanguinitie. They love their children most tenderly for a certaine time, and teach them nothing else but such things as they know themselves, and never beate them nor chastise them for any thing, and so they live like beasts. They marrie them at their time; and this is the forme of their marriage: The Parents of each partie meete together, and after conferences had betweene them, they dance according to their Countrie custome, and giving hands returne home; if the Bridegroome or Bride be under age, they stay certaine moneths and sometime a yeare, never seeing one

[IV. viii. 1565.]

Their plurality and incests in marriages.

The bad education of their children.

Forme of Marriages.

the other: afterward at time convenient the Father of the spouse giveth an house to his daughter and son in law, with furniture thereto belonging.

Their forme of making Knights.

They also make the Bridegroome a Knight, if he be of a worthy familie, with divers rites, whereof these be the chiefest ceremonies: They deliver him a Bowe, and instruct him how to use his new weapons; and to shew a signe of his industrie and abilitie, he is turned out to some yong Lyon or wilde beast, which when he hath killed, he is advanced to some honour and dignitie, whereby he excelleth others which are not Knights. Among the things belonging to policie, this is one which they doe observe; that they adopt other mens children for their owne; but this adoption into another familie hath very severe and dangerous ceremonies, for they thrust a sticke into their mouthes into the bottome of their throates, wherewith they are almost choaked; if it fall out well, they vomit up all the meate in their stomacke, and so they passe over into the right of another man.

Adoption.

Whatsoever time remaineth from labour and travaile they spend in a play, which is like to Dice, but consisteth of divers signes. They play with exceeding great moderation and patience of minde, being most cunning in this kinde of sport, no oath is heard among them, nor any contentions or brabling word, though they loose their apparell and all that they have, and goe home naked, as sometime it falleth out.

Their quietnesse and kind play.

When they be sicke, if the disease be sore and dangerous, they digge a place for their buriall, and sometimes it standeth five or sixe dayes open, which custome was very profitable to a certaine woman; for when I came into a certaine Village, and saw the ground digged very deeply, knowing what the matter was, I came unto her lying on her Couch and sicke, and having instructed her in the Catechisme which I had written in the vulgar Tongue, in the principles of Christian Religion, I baptised her, but she recovered. Now the cause why they open the places of their burials is this, That presently they

Their burials.

may cover the bodie or ashes of him that is dead (for somtimes they burne the bodies with all the house and household stuffe.) They sprinkle the Sepulchre with a certaine dust, whereof they make a drinke, and bring meate with them, and after they have wept over the Grave, they make themselves drunke, the Kinsfolke of the dead making a Feast for them that doe assist them. And these be their Funerals.

The Vicar of the Church of Culiacan, which is fortie two leagues from Cinoloa, where the foresaid Fathers live, in his Letters sent to a certaine friend writeth after this manner: In Cinaloa the Fathers labour painfully in the Lord in converting the Indians unto the Faith so fruitfully and happily, that we all hold it for a Miracle. Neither can it be beleeved, both with what celeritie they have learned and speak the tongue of that Countrie, and with what facilitie and contentment. The Inhabitants come to bee baptized, and desire to bee instructed in the Articles of our faith. Doubtlesse it is the worke of God; wherefore the Divine Majestie doth favour and promote the same.

A Letter written from Vallodolid by Ludovicus Tribaldus Toletus to Master Richard Hakluyt, translated out of Latin, touching Ivan de Onate his Discoveries in New Mexico, five hundred leagues to the North from the old Mexico.

WHen you shall see the English returned home out of our Spaine, and can finde no Letters sent unto you from us, perhaps, and that worthily you will accuse us of breach of our friendship, and also as little mindfull of our promise. Yet we as free from this fault salute you most willingly. For it is not long since we arrived here, that is to say in this Court, a little after the departure of your Countrimen into England. Yet we made our journie by Sea and by Land indifferent pleasantly and according to our desire. After we had rested our selves

a small while, we desired nothing more then to visit Andrew Garsia Cespedes, a man for many respects linked unto us in most straight bands of friendship. He greatly rejoyced of your goodwill toward him: And shewed me a certaine briefe yet very perspicuous Relation of things atchieved by Don Juan de Onate, among the Indians of New Mexico.

Don Juan de Onate his first relation.

For therein is written, that he departed from old Mexico in the yeere 1599. with an Armie and carriages of five thousand men, in which number boyes, women, young men and Souldiers are included. He carried also great store of victuals with him, flockes of Sheepe and Goates, Herds of Oxen, and all things necessarie for life, also Horses and Armour, and other things which in these kind of Expeditions ought to be provided. Therefore having travelled through divers Countries five hundred leagues, hee found divers Nations by the way, noble for their builded Townes and reasonable civill manners. All which he received into the friendship of the King of Spaine, and they openly testified the same by publike instruments, and giving of their faith. And when with his company he came unto a Towne very strong by situation of the place, built upon a most high and mightie Rocke, and was freely received by the Inhabitants, giving their right hands to each other, they courteously supplied them with all things necessarie for their reliefe, and promised within a while after that they would furnish them with more, sufficient to make a very long journie. When Onate had waited for this thing, at the day appointed hee sent his Nephew by his sister with a few Souldiers, who entring the Towne, came into the Market place, where almost all the multitude of the Townesmen were assembled together. Now while hee with his company was busie in buying of things, suddenly the Traitours from all parts rushed upon him and his fellowes unawares, and by most wicked treason cut off the Captaines head and sixe others; the rest being wounded hardly escaped by flight from so great a multitude that assaulted them, yet some of the enemies were

5000. *sent* 1599. [IV. viii. 1566.]

500. *leagues travell.*

Treacherous people.

slaine and thrust through. When speedily the same hereof came to Onate, taking with him a choice number of Souldiers, in a great furie he came unto the Towne, besieged it, and after a long fight by maine force he tooke the same, slue most part, tooke the rest, burnt the Towne and razed it to the ground, that no tokens might remaine of so great a wickednesse committed against him. The Townes name was Acoma: and none of our men was slaine in the siege thereof.

Their Towne taken.

Acoma is in 32. degrees, and two third parts.

After this he easily proceeded forward on his journie as he did before, till he came to a mightie great Citie: he inforced this City with the villages adjoyning to sweare obedience to the King of Spaine, not altogether unwilling, yet feared by the example and ruine of the towne that was destroyed. From hence he came to a greater Citie, which likewise after hee had obtained it by great friendship he sent certain men from thence to search out the oxen of Cibola, long since known by the report of one, (to wit of Vasquez de Coronado) whether they were such indeed or no. Who when they had found a great multitude of these oxen, and would compasse them about, and force them into certaine inclosures or toiles, their enterprize prevailed but a little: they are so wild and so swift. Yet after they had killed many of them, bringing store of them with them, as though they had bin Deere, returning to their company and General, to the great admiration of all men, they declared the wildnesse and innumerable number of these Oxen.

A mighty city.

Another greater Citie.

Cibola is in 33. degrees.

Afterward employing of themselves to keepe those things which they had gotten, they builded a Towne, which they called Saint Johns Towne, and entring into very great friendship with the people which they had lately discovered, after they had found certaine very rich Mynes of gold and silver, being laden with store of other riches, they determined to live pleasantly and quietly, and to end their travels, with singular profit of the Inhabitants in the Christian Religion, and abjuring of their Idols, which in former time they worshipped most religiously.

The Towne of Saint John.

Sundry Mynes of gold and silver newly found.

At length within these two yeeres, leaving his fellowes there, Onate undertooke a new Discoverie toward that most famous River of the North, which at length he discovered, being everywhere courteously entertained by the Inhabitants. At last he came to the Lake whereof long since, have gone many reports. This is the Lake of Conibas, on the brinke whereof hee beheld a farre off a Citie seven leagues long, and above two leagues broad. The houses of this Citie were separated the one from the other, and trimly and artificially builded, adorned with many trees and most goodly Gardens; and often divided with streames running betweene them. Yet none of the Inhabitants did appeare. Therefore being not furnished with a sufficient Armie, he kept his Souldiers about him in a strong place, yet he sent certaine Horsemen into the Towne to view it: who after they had ridden by a certaine space through certaine exceeding faire streets of the Citie, and could see none of the Citizens, at length came to an exceeding great Market place, which was filled with an exceeding great company of men, fortified with Rampiers and other fortifications in manner of a Fortresse. Therefore perceiving themselves to be unequall to so infinite a number, they retired backe to their fellowes without attempting any thing, and so returned home to their owne houses under the conduct of Onate, defferring the assaulting of so great a Towne untill a more convenient time: and now they keepe those places diligently, which they have alreadie found, and doing violence to none of the Inhabitants, they live in all happinesse and prosperitie.

A second Discoverie 1602.

The most famous River of the North discovered.

Antonie de Espio uno Rio mas que ocho leguas de ancho.

The Lake of Conibas.

Avia una laguna o lago muy guade.

Anton de Espeio.

A faire and goodly Citie.

Westerne coast of America discovered neere Cape California, which it seemes at this time was more perfectly discovered to be an Iland, as you see in M. Brigs his Map.

Moreover, other newes is brought from New Spaine, to wit, that by the commandement of the Vice-roy, the Coasts of the South Sea toward Cape Mendoçino are discovered, and that exceeding faire and large Havens are found neere the Californias, which hitherto no man knew, and that Castles are there to be builded and fortified, fit to withstand the force of the enemie: which I saw painted with the precise longitudes and latitudes, annexed unto them.

There is no newes come of the Voyage to the Iland lately found out toward Nova Guinea. If any newes come, I will carefully advertise you thereof.

[IV. viii. 1567.] It remaineth, that I speake somewhat of the instruction which I promised you, and now send unto you: to wit, that the same was sent to the West Indies, and that according to the precepts therein contained, all things are observed very exactly, and written to the Councell of the Indies: and that Cespedes our friend having diligently read over these Writings, hath written an excellent Volume; but he hath not obtained leave to publish the same: for they will not have all these things particularly to come to light.

And these be the things which I now thought good to write unto you, my Hakluyt, meaning to have written more, if there had beene any fresher things to have written of. Neither have I yet sought out all those that might informe me of these new Discoveries: for I could not yet doe it by reason of the shortnesse of the time. I hope hereafter I shall have leisure: and I know you will commend mee for my friendship towards you. Farewell from Valladolid the Nones of July 1605.

To the Reader.

AFter so many other Spanish Discourses and Discoveries, I have added for a Spanish farewell this of Bartholomew de las Casas a zealous Dominican Frier, after made Bishop of Chiapa, touching the excesses committed by some Spaniards in the Continent and Ilands of America, from their first Discoverie till the yeere 1542. in which this was written; the rather heere annexed, as our conclusion of Spanish Relations. The occasion (it seemeth) was his godly zeale of converting soules to Jesus Christ from the power of Ethnike darknesse, which was hindered by a worse darknesse in those which professed themselves children of Light, and had the name and Sacraments of Christians. For it beeing then the custome, as you have

seene in Soto, and others before, to get so much of the American Regions in Partition, Commendam, or a Commission from the King (then Charles the fifth Emperour) to discover and pacifie, as their stile hath it, that is, as the Popes Bull prescribeth, to bring into Spanish subjection, and to convert to the Christian Faith, so much as their Commission limited, paying the fifth part of whatsoever they got to the Crowne; they abusing the Emperours lenitie, and concealing their out-rages, procceded in converting, as that word is derived from converrere, not from convertere, and in such course as this Author expresseth, if he and other Divines which made complaint thereof to the Emperour bee to be credited. Neither is it incredible for the maine part of the Historie (we see their own Journals insinuate as much in milder and closer termes) howsoever his zeale flings forth fiery tearmes, and paints out their Acts in the blackest Inke, and most Hyperbolicall Phrases. The Issue was the alteration of government in the Indies, by the gentlenesse of the Kings of Spaine, which freed them from slaverie, and tooke better order both for their bodily and spirituall estate, as before wee have read in Herera. And if any thinke that I publish this in disgrace of that Nation; I answere, Every Nation (We see it at home) hath many evill men, many Devill-men. Againe, I aske whether the Authour (himselfe a Spaniard and Divine) intended not the honour and good of his Countrie thereby: which also was effected, evill manners producing good Lawes. And indeed it is as much honour to this Bishop and the Bishop of Mexico, with other Spaniards that shewed their zeale of reformation herein, as also to the Kings of Spaine which have effected it; as the doing it is shame to other Spaniards, and the generalitie here touched. The like abuses of Savages in Brasill, you have seene by Portugals, complained of by Jesuites, sup. l. 7. c. 2. For my part I honour vertue in a Spaniard, in a Frier, in a Jesuite: and have in all this voluminous storie not beene more carefull to shew the evill acts of Spaniards, Portugals, Dutch in quarrels twixt them and

us, then to make knowne whatsoever good in any of them, when occasion was offered. And so farre am I from delighting to thrust my finger in sores (which yet I doe on necessitie, even with the English also) that I have left out many many invectives and bitter Epithetes of this Author, abridging him after my wont, and lopping of such superfluities, which rather were the fruit of his zeale, then the flowre of his History. I could also have added the names of those which he here calleth Tyrants, the Captaines in those Expeditions: but he spared them; as then living, and in Herera before you have them, which yet is angry with Ramusio for that wherein this storie doth excuse him, the concealment of their names being best commendation of such men. In these prunings and comission of some things (in their owne places, before related) above a third part is left out, and yet more then enough left to testifie that Mans heart given over to covetousnesse or other vice, is a bottomlesse Hell, wicked and deceitfull above all; who can search it? The colours which the Spaniards pretended for such executions, were the Man-eatings, Sodomies, Idolatries and other vices of Americans; perhaps made worse in the telling, and certainly with worse vices in this sort punished by unjustest Justice in respect of the Spaniards, whose unjustice is neverthelesse most just in regard of God, which knoweth how to punish sinne by sinne, by Sinners. This Booke is extant in Spanish, Latine, Dutch, and in English also printed 1583. when as peace was yet betwixt England and Spaine, which English Copie I have followed.

The Prologue of the Bishop Frier Bartholomew de las Casas or Casaus, to the most high and mightie Prince, Our Lord Don Philip Prince of Spaine.

[IV. viii. 1568.]

MOst high and mightie Lord, as God by his Providence hath for the guiding and commoditie of mankind in this World, in Realmes and Provinces, appointed Kings to be as Fathers, and as Homer nameth them Shepherds, and so consequently the most noble and principall members of Common-weales: so can we not justly doubt by reason of the good wils that Kings and Princes have to minister Justice, but that if there be any things amisse, either any violences or injuries committed, the only cause that they are not redressed, is, for that Princes have no notice of the same. For certainly if they knew of them, they would imploy all diligence and indevour in the remedie thereof. Whereof it seemeth that mention is made in the holy Scripture, in the Proverbs of Solamon, where it is said, Rex qui sedet in solio Judicii dissipat omne malum intuitu suo. For it is sufficiently to be presupposed even of the kindly and naturall vertue of a King, that the only notice that hee taketh of any mischiefe tormenting his Kingdome, is sufficient to procure him, if it bee possible, to roote out the same as beeing a thing that he cannot tollerate even one only moment of time.

Considering therefore with my selfe most mightie Lord the great mischiefes, damages and losses (the like whereof it is not to be thought, were ever committed by Mankind) of so large and great Kingdomes, or to speake more truely, of this so new World of the Indies, which God and holy Church have committed and commended unto the King of Castile, to the end they might governe, convert, and procure their prosperitie as well temporally as spiritually. I therefore (I say) being a man of experience, and fiftie yeeres of age or more, considering these evils, as having

seene them committed, at my being in those Countries: Also that your Highnesse having information of some notable particularities, might bee mooved most earnestly to desire his Majestie, not to grant or permit to those Tyrants such conquests as they have found out, and which they doe so name, (whereunto if they might bee suffered they would returne) seeing that of themselves, and being made against this Indian, peaceable, lowly and milde Nation which offendeth none, they be wicked, tyrannous, and by all Lawes either Naturall, Humane or Divine, utterly condemned, detested and accursed: I thought it best, least my selfe might become also guiltie, by concealing the losse of an infinite number both of souls & bodies which are so committed, to cause a few of their dealings which of late I had selected from among infinite others, and that might truly be reported to be printed, to the end your Highnesse might with more ease peruse and reade them over. Also whereas your Highnesse Master the Archbishop of Toleto, when hee was Bishop of Carthagena required them at my hands, and then presented them to your Highnesse: peradventure by reason of such great Voyages as your Highnesse tooke upon you, both by Sea and by Land for matters of Estate wherein you have beene busied, it may bee you have not perused, either have forgotten them, and in the meane time the rash and disordinate desire of those which thinke it nothing to doe wrong, to shed such abundance of mans bloud, to make desolate these so large Countries of their naturall Inhabitants and Owners, by slaying infinite persons, either to purloine such incredible treasures, do daily augment, these Tyrants proceeding under al counterfeit titles and colours in their instant and importunate sute, namely, to have the said Conquests permitted and granted unto them: Which in truth cannot bee granted without transgressing the Law both of Nature and of God, and so consequently not without incurring mortall sinne, worthy most terrible and everlasting torments: I thought it expedient to doe your Highnesse service in this briefe Summarie of a most

large Historie, that might and ought to bee written of such slaughters and spoiles as they have made and perpetrated. Which I beseech your Highnesse to receive and reade over, with that Royall clemencie and courtesie, wherewith you use to accept and peruse the workes of such your servants, as no other desire, but faithfully to employ themselves to the common commoditie, and to procure the prosperitie of the Royall Estate.

This Summarie being perused, and the vildnesse of the iniquitie committed against these poore innocent people, in that they are slaine and hewed in pieces without desert, only through the avarice ambition of those that pretend to the doing of such execrable deeds, being considered. It may please your Highnesse to desire, and effectually to perswade his Majestie to denie any whosoever shall demand or require so hurtfull and detestable enterprises: yea, even to burie any such suite or petition in the infernall pit of perpetuall silence, thereby shewing such terrour and dislike as hereafter no man may bee so bold, as once to name or speake thereof. And this (most mightie Lord) is very expedient and necessarie, to the end God may prosper, preserve and make the estate of the Royall Crowne of Castile for ever to flourish both spiritually and temporally.

Chap. IIII.

[IV. viii. 1569.]

A briefe Narration of the destruction of the Indies by the Spaniards: written by a Frier Bart. de las Casas a Spaniard, and Bishop of Chiapa in America.

THe Indies were discovered the yeere 1492. and inhabited by the Spanish the yeere next after ensuing: so as it is about fortie nine yeeres sithence that the Spaniards some of them went into those parts. And the first Land that they entred to inhabite, was the great and most fertile Ile of Hispaniola, which containeth sixe hundred leagues

in compasse. There are other great and infinite Iles round about, and in the Confines on all sides: which we have seene the most peopled, and the fullest of their owne native people, as any other Countrie in the World may be. The firme Land lying off from this Iland two hundred and fiftie leagues, and somewhat over at the most, containeth in length on the Sea Coast more then ten thousand leagues: which are alreadie discovered, and daily be discovered more and more, all full of people, as an Emmote hill of Emmots. Insomuch, as by that which since, unto the yeere the fortieth and one hath beene discovered: It seemeth that God hath bestowed in that same Countrie, the gulfe or the greatest portion of Mankind.

God created all these innumerable multitudes in every sort, very simple, without subtletie, or craft, without malice, very obedient, and very faithfull to their naturall Liege Lords, and to the Spaniards whom they serve, very humble, very patient, very desirous of peace making, and peacefull, without brawles and strugglings, without quarrels, without strife, without rancour or hatred, by no meanes desirous of revengement.

They are also people very gentle, and very tender, and of an easie complexion, and which can sustaine no travell, and doe die very soone of any disease whatsoever, in such sort as the very children of Princes and Noblemen brought up amongst us, in all commodities, ease, and delicatenesse, are not more soft then those of that Countrie: yea, although they bee the children of Labourers. They are also very poore folke, which possesse little, neither yet doe so much as desire to have much worldly goods, and therefore neither are they proud, ambitious, nor covetous. Their diet is such (as it seemeth) that of the holy Fathers in the Desert hath not bin more scarce, nor more straight, nor lesse daintie, nor lesse sumptuous. Their apparelling is commonly to goe naked: all save their shamefast parts alone covered. And when they be clothed, at the most, it is but of a Mantle of Bombacie of an ell and a halfe, or

two ells of linnen square. Their lodging is upon a Mat, and those which have the best sleepe as it were upon a Net fastened at the foure corners, which they call in the Language of the Ile of Hispaniola, Hamasas. They have their understanding very pure and quicke, being teachable and capeable of all good Learning, very apt to receive our holy Catholike Faith, and to be instructed in good and vertuous manners, having lesse incumberances and disturbances to the attaining thereunto, then all the folfe of the world besides, and are so enflamed, ardent, and importune to know and understand the matters of the faith after they have but begunne once to taste them, as likewise the exercise of the Sacraments of the Church, and the divine Service: that in truth, the religious men have need of a singular patience to support them. And to make an end, I have heard many Spaniards many times hold this as assured, and that which they could not denie, concerning the good nature which they saw in them. Undoubtedly these folkes should bee the happiest in the World, if onely they knew God.

Upon these Lambes so meeke, so qualified and endued of their Maker and Creator, as hath bin said, entred the Spanish incontinent as they knew them, as, Wolves, as Lions, and as Tigres most cruell of long time famished: and have not done in those quarters these fortie yeeres past, neither yet doe at this present, ought else save teare them in pieces, kill them, martyr them, afflict them, torment them, and destroy them by strange sorts of cruelties never neither seene, nor read, nor heard of the like (of the which some shall be set downe hereafter) so far forth that of above three Millions of soules that were in the Ile of Hispaniola, and that we have seene, there are not now two hundred natives of the Countrey. The Ile of Cuba, the which is in length as farre as from Valladolid untill Rome, is at this day as it were all waste. Saint Johns Ile, and that of Jamayca, both of them very great, very fertill, and very faire, are desolate. Likewise the Iles of Lucayos, neere to the Ile of Hispaniola, and of

Three Millions perished in Hispaniola, Oviedo hath but 1600000.

the North side unto that of Cuba, in number being above threescore Ilands, together with those which they call the Iles of Geante, one with another, great and little, whereof the very worst is fertiler then the Kings Garden at Sivill, and the Countrie the healthsomest in the World: there were in these same Iles more then five hundred thousand soules, and at this day there is not one only creature. For they have beene all of them slaine, after that they had drawne them out from thence to labour in their Minerals in the Ile of Hispaniola, where there were no more left of the Natives of that Iland. A ship riding for the space of three yeeres betwixt all these Ilands, to the end, after the inning of this kind of Vintage, to gleane and cull the remainder of these folke (for there was a good Christian moved with pittie and compassion, to convert and win unto Christ such as might be found) there were not found but eleven persons which I saw: other Iles more then thirty, neere to the Ile of Saint John have likewise bin dispeopled and marred. All these Iles containe above two thousand leagues of land, and are all dispeopled and laid waste.

500000 *lost in the Lucayos.*

[IV. viii. 1570.]

As touching the maine firme land, we are certaine that our Spaniards, by their cruelties and cursed doings have dispeopled and made desolate more then ten Realmes greater then all Spaine, comprising also therewith Aragon & Portugall, and twise as much or more land then there is from Sevill to Jerusalem, which are above a thousand leagues: which Realmes as yet unto this present day remaine in a wildernesse and utter desolation, having bin before time as well peopled as was possible. We are able to yeelde a good and certaine accompt, that there is within the space of the said fortie yeares, by those said tyrannies and divellish doings of the Spaniards, done * to death unjustly and tyrannously more then twelve Millions of soules, men, women, and children. And I doe verily beleeve, and thinke not to mistake therein, that there are dead more then fifteene Millions of soules.

*12. *or* 15. *millions.* *See the end of this discourse.*

The cause why the Spanish have destroyed such an

infinite of soules, hath beene onely, that they have held it for their last scope and marke to get Gold, and to enrich themselves in a short time, and to mount at one leape to very high estates, in no wise agreeable to their persons: or to say in a word, the cause hereof hath beene their avarice and ambition. And by this meanes have died so many Millions without faith and without Sacraments.

Of the Ile of Hispaniola.

In the Ile Hispaniola, which was the first (as we have said) where the Spaniards arrived, began the great slaughters and spoyles of people: the Spaniards having begun to take their wives and children of the Indies, for to serve their turne and to use them ill, and having begun to eate their victuals, gotten by their sweate and travell; not contenting themselves with that which the Indians gave them of their owne good will, every one after their abilitie, the which is algates very small, forasmuch as they are accustomed to have no more store then they have ordinarily neede of, and that such as they get with little travell: And that which might suffice for three housholds, reckoning ten persons for each houshold for a moneths space, one Spaniard would eate and destroy in a day.

Now after sundry other forces, violences, and torments, which they wrought against them: the Indians began to perceive that those were not men discended from heaven. Some of them therefore hid their victuals, others hid their wives and children, some others fled into the Mountaines, to separate themselves a farre off from a Nation of so hard natured and ghastly conversation. The Spaniards buffeted them with their fists and bastonades: pressing also to lay hands upon the Lords of the Townes. And these cases ended in so great an hazard and desperatenesse, that a Spanish Captaine durst adventure to ravish forcibly the wife of the greatest King and Lord of this Ile. Since which time the Indians began to search meanes to cast

Ambition. the Spaniards out of their lands, and set themselves in armes: but what kinde of armes? very feeble and weake to withstand or resist, and of lesse defence. The Spaniards with their Horses, their Speares and Lances,

Cruelty. began to commit murders, and strange cruelties: they entred into Townes, Borowes, and Villages, sparing neither children nor old men, neither women with childe, neither them that lay In, but that they ripped their bellies, and cut them in peeces, as if they had beene opening of Lambes shut up in their fold. They laid wagers with such as with one thrust of a sword would paunch or bowell a man in the middest, or with one blow of a sword would most readily and most deliverly cut off his head, or that would best pierce his entrals at one stroake. They tooke the little soules by the heeles, ramping them from the mothers dugges, and crushed their heads against the clifts. Others they cast into the Rivers laughing and mocking, and when they tumbled into the water, they said, now shift for thy selfe such a ones corpes. They put others, together with their mothers, and all that they met, to the edge of the sword. They made certaine Gibbets long and low, in such sort, that the feete of the hanged on, touched in a manner the ground, every one enough for thirteene, in honour and worship of our Saviour and his twelve Apostles (as they used to speake) and setting to fire, burned them all quicke that were fastened. Unto all others, whom they used to take and reserve alive, cutting off their two hands as neere as might be, and so letting them hang, they said; Get you with these Letters, to carry tydings to those which are fled by the Mountaines. They murdered commonly the Lords and Nobility on this fashion: They made certaine grates of pearches laid on pickforkes, and made a little fire underneath, to the intent, that by little and little yelling and despairing in these torments, they might give up the Ghost.

Tortures. One time I saw foure or five of the principall Lords roasted and broyled upon these gredirons. Also I thinke

that there were two or three of these gredirons, garnished with the like furniture, and for that they cryed out pittiously, which thing troubled the Captaine that he could not then sleepe: he commanded to strangle them. The Sergeant, which was worse then the Hangman that burned them (I know his name and friends in Sivil) would not have them strangled, but himselfe putting Bullets in their mouthes, to the end that they should not cry, put to the fire, untill they were softly roasted after his desire. I have seene all the aforesaid things and others infinite. And forasmuch, as all the people which could flee, hid themselves in the Mountaines, and mounted on the tops of them, fled from the men so without all manhood, emptie of all pitie, behaving them as savage beasts, the slaughterers and deadly enemies of mankinde: they taught their Hounds, fierce Dogs, to teare them in peeces at the first view, and in the space that one may say a Credo, assailed and devoured an Indian as if it had beene a Swine. These Dogges wrought great destructions and slaughters. And forasmuch as sometimes, although seldome, when the Indians put to death some Spaniards upon good right and Law of due Justice: they made a Lawe betweene them, that for one Spaniard they had to slay an hundred Indians. [IV. viii. 1571.]

Dogges.

There were in this Ile Hispaniola, five great principall Realmes, and five very mighty Kings, unto whom almost all other Lords obayed, which were without number. There were also certaine Lords of other severall Provinces, which did not acknowledge for soveraigne any of these Kings: One Realme was named Magua, which is as much to say, as the Kingdome of the plaine. This Plaine is one of the most famous and most admirable things of all that is in the world. For it containeth fourescore leagues of ground, from the South Sea unto the North sea, having in breadth five leagues, and eight unto ten.

The Realmes which were in this Ile of Hispaniola.

It hath on one side and other exceeding high Mountaines. There entreth into it above thirty thousand Rivers and Lakes, of the which twelve are as great as Ebro, and

Great Rivers in Spaine.

Duero, and Guadalquevir. And all the Rivers which issue out of a Mountaine which is towards the West, in number about five and twenty thousand, are very rich of Gold. In the which Mountaine or Mountaines, is contained the Province of Cibao, from whence the Mines of Cibao take their names, and from whence commeth the same exquisite Gold and fine of foure and twenty Karrets, which is so renowned in these parts. The King & Lord of this Realme was called Guarionex, which had under him his Vassals & Lieges so great and mighty, that every one of them was able to set forth threescore thousand men of armes for the service of the King Guarionex. Of the which Lords I have known some certain. This Guarionex was very obedient and vertuous, naturally desirous of peace, and well affectioned to the devotion of the Kings of Castile, and his people gave by his commandement, every housekeeper a certaine kinde of Drum full of Gold: but afterwards being not able to fill the Drum, cut it off by the middest, and gave the halfe thereof full. For the Indians of that Ile had little or none industrie or practise to gather or draw Gold out of the Mines. The Cacique presented unto the King of Castile his service, in causing to be manured all the lands from the Isabella, where the Spanish first sited, unto the Towne of Saint Domingo, which are fiftie leagues large, on condition that he should exact of them no Gold: for hee said (and hee said the truth) that his Subjects had not the skill to draw it out. As for the manuring which he said he would procure to be done: I know that he could have done it very easily, and with great readinesse, and that it would have beene worth unto the King every yeere more then three Millions of Castillans, besides that it would have caused, that at this houre there had bin above fiftie Cities greater then Sivill.

25000. *Rivers rich in Gold.* *Cibao.*

The paiment that they made to this good King and Lord, so gracious and so redoubted, was to dishonour him in the person of his wife, an evill Christian a Captaine ravishing her. This King could have attended the time

and opportunitie to avenge himselfe in levying some armie: but he advised to withdraw himselfe rather, and onely to hide him out of the way, thus being banished from his Realme and state, into a Province of the Cignaios, where there was a great Lord his vassall. After that the Spaniards were ware of his absence, and he could no longer hide himselfe: they make warre against the Lord which had given him entertainment, and make great slaughters through the Countrey as they goe, till in the end they found and tooke him, thrusting him loden with chaines and irons into a Ship, to carry him to Castile: which Ship was lost upon the Sea, and there were with him drowned many Spaniards, and a great quantity of Gold, amongst the which also was the great wedge of Gold, like unto a great loafe, weying three thousand six hundreth Castillans. Thus it pleased God to wreake vengeance of matters so lewd and so enormous.

The greatest peece of Gold which ever was found naturall lost.

The other Realme was called of Marien, where is at this day the Port at one of the bounds of the plaine, towards the North: and it is farre greater then the Realme of Portugall, and much fertiler, worthy to be inhabited, having great Mountaines, and Mines of Gold, and Copper very rich. The King was called Guacanagari, which had under him many great Lords, of the which I have knowne and seene sundry. In this Kings Countrey arrived first the old Admirall, when he discovered the Indies, whom at that time that he discovered the Ile, the said Guacanagari received so graciously, bountifully, and curteously with all the Spaniards who were with him, in giving him all entertainement and succour, for at the very instant was the Ship lost (which the Admirall was carried in) that hee could not have bin better made off in his owne Countrie of his owne Father. This did I understand of the Admirals owne mouth: This King dyed, in flying the slaughters and cruelties of the Spaniards through the Mountaines, being destroyed and deprived of his estate. And all the other Lords his subjects dyed in the tyrannie and servitude that shall be declared hereafter.

Marien.

[IV. viii. 1572.]

Maguana. The third Realme and dominion was Maguana, a Countrie also admirable, very healthfull, and very fertile, where the best Sugar of the Ile at this day is made.

The King of this Countrie was named Caenabo, who surpassed all the others in strength and state, in gravitie, and in the ceremonies of his service. The Spaniards tooke this King with great subtiltie and malice, even as he was in his owne house, doubting of nothing. They conveied him afterwards into a Ship to carry him to Castile; but as there attended them six other Ships in the port, all ready to hoise up saile: behold how God by his just judgement, would declare, that it, with other things, was an exceeding great iniquitie and unjust, by sending the same night a tempest, which sunke and drenched that Navie with the Spaniards that were within. There died also with them the said Caonabo, charged with bolts and irons.

The Prince had three or foure brothers valiant men, and couragious like himselfe, who considering the imprisonment of their Lord & brother so against all equitie, together with the wasts and slaughters which the Spaniards made in other Realmes, and specially after that they had heard that the King their brother was dead, they put themselves in armes to encounter the Spaniards, and to avenge the wrong; who on the otherside meeting with them on horsebacke; so they rage in discomfitures and massacres, that the one moytie of this Realme hath beene thereby desolate and dispeopled.

Xaragua. The fourth Realme is the same which is named Xaragua. This Realme was as it were the centre or middle point, or to speake of, as the Court of this Isle, the diamond over all the other Realmes in language and polished speech, in policie and good manners, the best composed and ordered. For as much as there were many noble Lords and Gentlemen, the people also being the best made and most beautifull. The King had to name Behechio, which had a sister called Anacaona. These two, the brother and sister, had done great services to the Kings of Castile,

and great good turnes to the Spaniards, delivering them from sundry dangers of death.

After the decease of Behechio, Anacaona remained sole Soveraigne of the Realme. At a time came into this Realme the Governour of this Ile with threescore Horses, and more then three hundreth footemen (the horsemen alone had beene enough to spoyle and overrunne not this Ile alone, but all the firme land withall:) And to him came, being called, more then three hundred Lords under assurance, of whom the chiefest, he fraudulently caused to be conveyed into a house of thatch, and commanded to set to fire. Now on this wise were these Lords burned all alive: all the rest of the Lords, with other folke infinite, were smitten to death with their Speares and Swords. But the Soveraigne Lady Anacaona, to doe her honour, they hanged. It happened that certaine Spaniards, either of pittie or of covetousnesse, having taken and detained certaine yong striplings to make them their Pages; because they would not have them slaine, and setting them behinde them on their horse backes; another Spaniard came behinde, which stabbed them through with a speare. If so be any childe or boy tombled downe to the ground, another Spaniard came and cut off his legges. Some certaine of these Indians which could escape this crueltie so unnaturall, passed over unto a little Ile neere unto the other, within an eight leagues. The Governour condemned all those which had passed the water, to become slaves; because they had fled from their butcherie.

Higney.

The fifth Realme was called Higney, over the which raigned an ancient Queene named Hignanama, whom the Spaniards hanged up. The people were infinite whom I saw burnt alive, and rent in peeces, and tormented diversly and strangely, and whom I saw made slaves, even so many as they tooke alive. And now for as much as there are so many particularities in these Massacres and destruction of those peoples, that they cannot conveniently be comprised in writing (yea I doe verily beleeve, that of a number of things to be spoken of, there cannot be

disciphered of a thousand parts one:) I will onely in that which concerneth the warres above mentioned, conclude, averre, and justifie in conscience, and as before God, that of all others, which I overpasse to speake of, or shall be able to speake of, the Indians never gave no more occasion or cause, then might a convent of good religious persons well ordered, why they should be robbed and slaine, and why those that escaped the death, should be retained in a perpetuall captivitie and bondage. I affirme yet moreover, for ought that I can beleeve or conjecture, that, during all the time that all this huge number of these Islanders have beene murdered and made away utterly, they never committed against the Spaniards any one mortall offence, punishable by the law of man. And concerning offences, of the which the punishment is reserved unto God, as are desire of revengement, hatred and rancour, which these people might beare against enemies so capitall as were the Spaniards, that very few persons have beene attached with the blemish, and lesse violent and forcible did I finde them, by the good experience I had of them, then children of tenne or twelve yeares of age. And I know for certaine and infallible, that the Indians had evermore most just cause of warre against the Spaniards; but the Spaniards never had any just cause of warre against the Indians, but they were all diabolicall and most unrighteous more then can be spoken of any tyrant that is on the whole earth. And I affirme the selfe same for all their other acts and gests by them done throughout all the Indies.

[IV. viii. 1573.]

The warres atchieved, and all the men done to death thereby, reserved commonly the yong folke, women, and children (the which they departed among them, in giving to one thirtie, to another fortie, and to another an hundreth, or two hundreth, according as every one had the favour of the head tyrant, whom they called the Governour) they gave them to the Spaniards upon that condition and colour, that they would teach them the Catholike faith, they themselves who tooke upon them

this charge of soules, commonly all idiots, or utterly ignorant persons, barbarous men, extreamely covetous and vicious.

Now the carke and care that these had of them, was to send the men unto the Mines, to make them dreine them out Gold, which is an intollerable travell; and the women they bestowed into the Countrie to their Farmes, to manure and till the ground, which is a sore travell, even for the very men, the ablest and mightiest. They gave to eate neither to one nor other, nought save grasses and such like things of no substance; in such sort as the milke of the breasts of the wives new delivered of their childebirth dried up; and thus dried up in a small season, all the little creatures their yong children. Further, by reason of the separation and not cohabiting of the men with their wives, the generation ceased betweene them. The men died with toyle and famine in the Minerals: these the women died of the same in the fields. By these meanes were consumed and brought to their ends so huge a number of the folke of this Island. By the like might be abolished and exterpate all the inhabitants of the world.

Gens sine generatione perit.

As touching loding, they laid upon them fourescore or an hundreth pounds waight, which they should carrie an hundreth or two hundreth leagues: The Spanish also causing themselves to be carried in Lyters upon mens armes, or beds made by the Indians, in fashion of Nets. For they served their turnes with them to transport their carriages and baggage as beasts, whereby they had upon their backes and shoulders, whailes and gals as poore galled beasts. Also as touching whippings, bastonading, buffeting, blowes with the fist, cursing, and a thousand other kindes of torments, which they practised upon them during the time that they travailed, of a truth, they cannot be recounted in a long season, nor written in a great deale of paper, and they should be even to affright men withall.

It is to be noted, that the destruction of these Iles and lands, began after the decease of the most gracious Queene,

dame Isabel, which was the yeare one thousand five hundred and foure. For before there were laid wast in this Ile, but certaine Provinces by unjust warre, and that not wholly altogether, & these for the more part, or in a manner all were conceiled from the knowledge of the Queene (unto who it may please God to give his holy glory) forasmuch as she had a great desire, and a zeale admirable, that those people might be saved and prosper, as we do know good examples, the which we have seene with our eyes, and felt with our hands. Further note here, that in what part of the Indies the Spanish have come, they have evermore exercised against the Indians, these innocent peoples, the cruelties aforesaid, and oppressions abominable, and invented day by day new torments, huger and monstrouser, becomming every day more cruell, wherefore God also gave them over to fall headlong downe with a more extreame downfall into a reprobate sense.

Of the two Iles Saint John, and Jamayca.

THe Spanish passed over the Ile of Saint John, and to the end of Jamaica (which were like Gardens for Bees) 1509. setting before them the same end which they had in the Ile Hispaniola, and committing the robberies and crimes aforesaid, adjoyning thereunto many great and notable cruelties, killing, burning, rosting and casting them to the Dogs: furthermore, afterwards oppressing, and vexing them in their Minerals and other travell, unto the rooting out of those poore innocents which were in these two Iles, by supputation six hundred thousand soules; yea I beleeve that they were more then a Million, although there be not at this day in either Ile two hundred persons, and all perished without faith and without Sacraments.

600000. or a Million in S. John and Jamaica.

Of the Ile of Cuba.

IN the yeare 1511. they passed to the Ile of Cuba (where were great Provinces, and great multitudes of people) they both began and concluded with them after the fashion

afore spoken, yea worse and farre more cruelly. There came to passe in this Iland matters worth the noting: A Cacique, named Hathvey, which had conveied himselfe from the Ile Hispaniola to Cuba, with many of his people, to avoide the calamities & practises so unnaturall of the Spanish: when as certain Indians had told him tidings that the Spaniards were comming towards Cuba, he assembled his men, and bespake them: Now you know that the Spaniards are comming on this side, and yee know also by experience, how they have entreated such, and such, and the people of Hayti (meaning thereby Hispaniola) hither they come to doe the like here. Wot yee why they doe it? they answered, no, unlesse it be that they are by nature voide of humanitie. He replied: They do it not onely for that; but because they have a God whom they honour, and doe demand very much, and to the end to have from us as well as others to honour him withall, they doe their uttermost to subdue us. He had then by him a little Chest full of Gold and Jewels, and said, Behold here the God of the Spaniards, let us doe to him, if it so seeme you good, Aretos (which are windlesses and dances) thus doing, we shall please him, and he will command the Spaniards that they shall doe us no harme: They answered all with a loud voyce: Well said Sir, well said. Thus then they danced before it, untill they were weary, then quoth the Lord Hathvey, Take wee heede how ever the world goe, if we keepe him, to the end that he be taken away from us, in the end they will kill us; wherefore let us cast him into the River: whereunto they all agreed, and so they cast it into a great River there. [IV. viii. 1574.]

Dances made to Gold.

This Lord and Cacique went alwayes flying the Spanish, incontinent as they were arrived at the Ile of Cuba, as he which knew them but too well, and defended himselfe when he met them. In the end he was taken, and onely for because that hee fled from a Nation so unjust and cruell, and that he defended himselfe from such as would kill him, and oppresse him even unto the death, with all

Hathvey burned.

his folke, he was burned alive. Now as he was fastned to the stake, a religious man of Saint Francis order, a devout person, spake to him somewhat of God and of our Faith, which things this said Lord had never heard of, yet might be sufficient for the time which the butchers gave him, that if he would beleeve those things which were spoken to him, hee should goe to heaven, where is glory and rest everlasting, that if he did not beleeve, hee should goe to hell, there to be tormented perpetually. The Lord after having a little paused to thinke of the matter, demanded of the Religious man, whether that the Spaniards went to heavèn; who answered, yea; such of them that were good. The Cacique answered againe immediately without any further deliberation, that he would not goe to heaven, but that he would goe to hell, to the end, not to come in the place where such people should be, and to the end not to see a Nation so cruell. Loe here the praises and honour which God and our faith have received of the Spaniards, which have gone to the Indies.

His choise to goe to hell, and why.

One time the Indians came to meete us, and to receive us with victuals, and delicate cheere, and with all entertainment ten leagues of a great Citie, and being come at the place, they presented us with a great quantity of fish, and of bread, and other meate, together with all that they could doe for us to the uttermost. See incontinent the Divell, which put himselfe into the Spaniards, to put them all to the edge of the sword in my presence, without any cause whatsoever, more then three thousand soules, which were set before us, men, women, and children. I saw there so great cruelties, that never any man living either have or shall see the like.

3000. *slaine.*

Another time, but a few dayes after the premisses, I sent messengers unto all the Lords of the Province of Havana, assuring them, that they should not neede to feare (for they had heard of my credit) and that without withdrawing themselves, they should come to receive us, and that there should be done unto them no displeasure: for all the Countrie was afraid, by reason of the mischiefes

and murderings passed, and this did I by the advice of the Captaine himselfe. After that we were come into the Province, one and twenty Lords and Caciques came to receive us, whom the Captaine apprehended incontinently, breaking the safe conduct which I had made them, and intending the day next following to burne them alive, saying that it was expedient so to doe, for that otherwise those Lords one day, would doe us a shrewd turne. I found my selfe in a great deale of trouble to save them from the fire; howbeit in the end they escaped.

After that the Indians of this Iland were thus brought into bondage and calamitie, like unto those of the Ile of Hispaniola, and that they saw that they died and perished all without remedy: some of them began to flye into the Mountaines, others quite desperate hanged themselves, and there hung together husbands with their wives, hanging with them their little children. And through the crueltie of one only Spaniard, which was a great tyrant, and one whom I know, there hung themselves more then two hundred Indians: and in this fashion died an infinite of people. *Out of the frying-pan into the fire.*

There was in this Ile an officer of the Kings, to whom they gave for his share three hundred Indians, of whom at the end of three moneths there died by him in the travell of the Mines, two hundred and sixty: in such sort, that there remained now but thirty, which was the tenth part. Afterwards they gave him as many more, and more, and those also hee made havocke of in like manner, and still as many as they gave him, so many he slew, untill he died himselfe, and that the Divell carried him away.

In three or foure moneths (my selfe being present) there died more then sixe thousand children, by reason that they had plucked away from them their fathers and mothers, which they sent into the Mines. I beheld also other things frightfull. Shortly after they resolved to climbe after those which were in the Mountaines, where they wrought also ghastly slaughters, and thus laid waste all 6000. *Infants lost.*

this Ile; which we beheld not long after, and it is great pitie to see it so dispeopled and desolate as it is.

[IV. viii. 1575.]

Of Terra Firma, or the firme land.

IN the yeere 1514. there landed in the Maine a mischievous Governour. Hee not onely wasted or dispeopled the Sea Coast, but sacked also great Realmes and Countries, making havocks by slaying and murdering of peoples, infinite to be numbred, and sending them to Hell. He overranne and harried most of the places in the Land, from Darien upward, unto the Realme and Provinces of Nicaragua within being, which are more then five hundred leagues of the best, and most fertile ground in the whole World, where there were a good number of great Lords, with a number of Townes, Boroughes, and Villages, and store of gold in more abundance then was to be found on the earth untill that present.

This Governour with his men, found out new sorts of cruelties and torments, to cause them to discover and give him gold. There was a Captaine of his, which slue in one walke and course which was made by his commandement, to rob and roote out more then fortie thousand soules, putting them to the edge of the Sword, burning them, and giving them to the Dogges, and tormenting them diversly: which also a Religious man of the Order of Saint Francis, who went with him, beheld with his eies, and had to name Frier Francis of Saint Romane.

The most pernicious blindnesse, which hath alwaies possessed those who have governed the Indians, in stead of the care which they should have for the conversion and salvation came to that passe, as to command orders to bee set downe unto the Indians to receive the faith, and render themselves unto the obedience of the King of Castile, or otherwise to bid them battle with fire and Sword, and to slay them or make them slaves: he com-

manded (or peradventure the theeves, whom he dispatched to doe the execution, did it of their heads) when they were purposed to goe a roving and robbing of any place, where they knew that there was any gold, the Indians being in their Townes and dwelling houses, without mistrusting any thing, the wicked Spaniards would goe after the guize of Theeves, unto within halfe a league neere some Towne, Borough, or Village, and there by themselves alone, and by night make a reading, publication, or Proclamation of the said Ordinances, saying thus, O yes, Caciques and Indians of this firme Land of such a place: Be it knowne unto you, that there is one God, one Pope, one King of Castile, which is Lord of these Lands: make your appearance, all delay set aside, here to doe him homage, &c. Which if you shall not accomplish: Be it knowne unto you, that we will make warre upon you, and we will kill you, and make you slaves. Hereupon at the fourth watch in the morning, the poore Innocents, sleeping yet with their wives and children: these Tyrants set upon the place, casting fire on the houses which commonly were thatched, and so burne up all quicke men, women and children, more suddenly then that they could of a great many be perceived. They massacred at the instant those that seemed them good, and those whom they tooke prisoners, they caused them cruelly to die upon the Racke, to make them to tell in what places there were any more Gold then they found with them: and others which remained alive, they made them slaves, marking them with a hot Iron, so after the fire being out and quenched, they goe seeke the gold in their houses. This is then the deportment in these affaires of this person, with all the bond of his ungodly Christians, which he trained from the fourteenth yeere, unto the one and twentie, or two and twentieth yeere, sending in these Exploits sixe or moe of his Servants or Souldiers, by whom he received as many shares, over and besides his Captaines Generals part, which hee levied of all the Gold, of all the Pearles, and of all the Jewels which they tooke of those whom

God and King abused.

they made their slaves. The selfe-same did the Kings Officers, everie one sending forth as many servants as he could.

The Bishop also, which was the chiefe in the Realme, he sent his servants to have his share in the bootie: They spoiled more gold within the time, and in this Realme, as farre forth as I am able to reckon, then would amount to a Million of Ducates, yea, I beleeve, that I make my reckoning with the least. Yet will it be found, that of all this great theeving, they never sent to the King ought save three thousand Castillans, having thereabout killed and destroyed above eight hundred thousand soules. The other Tyrant Governours which succeeded after, unto the yeere thirtie and three, slue or at least wise consented, for all those which remained to slay them in that tyrannicall slaverie.

800000. *Indians slaine.*

Amongst an infinite sort of mischiefes, which this Governour did, nor consented unto the doing during the time of his government, this was one: To wit, that a Cacike or Lord giving him, either of his good will, or which is rather to be thought for feare, the weight of nine thousand Ducates: the Spaniards not content withall, tooke the said Lord, and tied him to a stake, setting him on the earth, his feet stretched up, against the which they set fire to cause him to give them some more gold. The Lord sent to his house, whence there were brought, yet moreover three thousand Castillans. They goe afresh to give him new torments. And when the Lord gave them no more, either because he had it not, or because he would give them no more, they bent his feet against the fire, untill that the verie marrow sprang out, and trilled downe the soles of his feete: so as hee therewith died. They have oftentimes exercised these kinde of torments towards the Lords, to make them give them gold, wherewith they have also slaine them.

[IV. viii. 1576.] Another time, a certaine companie of Spaniards, using their thefts and robberies, came to a Mountaine, where were assembled and hid a number of people, having

shunned those men so pernicious and horrible: whom incontinent entring upon, they tooke about three or fourescore, as well women as maids, having killed as many as they could kill. The morrow after, there assembled a great companie of Indians, to pursue the Spaniards, warring against them for the great desire they had to recover their wives and daughters.

The Spaniards perceiving the Indians to approach so neere upon them, would not so forgoe their prey, but stabd their Swords thorow the bellies of the wives and wenches, leaving but one alone alive of all the fourescore. The Indians felt their hearts tó burst for sorrow and griefe which they suffered, yelling out in cries and speaking such words: O wicked men, O yee the cruell Spaniards: doe yee kill Las Iras: They terme Iras in that Countrie the women: as if they would say, to kill women, those be acts of abominable men, and cruell as beasts.

There was about ten or fifteene leagues from Joanama, a great Lord named Paris, which was very rich of gold: The Spaniards went thither, whom this Lord received as if they had beene his owne brethren, and made a Present unto the Captaine of fiftie thousand Castillans of his owne voluntarie accord. It seemed unto the Captaine and the other Spaniards, that he which gave such a great summe of his owne will, should have a great treasure, which should be the end and easing of their travels. They pretend in words to depart: but they returne at the fourth watch of the morning, setting upon the Towne which mistrusted nothing set it on fire, whereby was burnt and slaine a great number of people, and by this meanes they brought away in the spoile fiftie, or threescore thousand Castillans moe. The Cacike or Lord escaped without being slaine or taken, and levied incontinent as many of his as he could. And at the end of three or foure daies overtaketh the Spaniards which had taken from him an hundred and thirtie, or fortie thousand Castillans, and set upon them valiantly, killing fiftie Spaniards, and recovering all the gold which they had taken from him.

The others saved themselves by running away, being well charged with blowes and wounded. Not long after, divers of the Spanish returne against the said Cacike, and discomfite him with an infinite number of his people. Those which were not slaine, they put them to the ordinarie bondage: in such sort, as that there is not at this day, neither tracke nor token, that there hath beene living there either people, or so much as one man alone borne of woman within thirtie leagues of the Land, which was before notably peopled and governed by divers Lords. There is no reckoning able to be made of the murders which this Caitiffe with his companie committed in these Realmes which he so dispeopled.

Of the Province of Nicaragua.

THe yeere 1522. or twentie three, this Tyrant went farther into the Land: to bring under his yoke the most fertile Province of Nicaragua, and so in thither he entred in an evill houre. There is no man which is able worthily and sufficiently to speake of the fertiltie, healthsomenesse, prosperitie, and frequencie, of those Nations that there were.

He sent fiftie Horsemen, and caused to slay all the people of this Province, (which is greater then the Countie of Rossillon) with the Sword: in such sort, as that hee left alive, nor man, nor woman, nor old, nor young, for the least cause in the World: as if they came not incontinent at his command: or if they did not bring him so many load of Maiz, which signifieth in that Countrie bread Corne: or if they did not bring him so many Indians to serve him and others of his company: for the Countrie lay levell, as was said, and no creature could escape his horses and devillish rage. He sent Spaniards to make out rodes, that is to say, to go a theeving into other Provinces: and gave leave to those Rovers, to carrie with them as many Indians of this peaceable people as they listed, and that they should serve them, whom they

put to the chaine, to the end they should not give over the burdens of three or fourescore pounds weight, wherewith they loaded them, whereof it came to passe oftentimes that of foure thousand Indians, there returned not home to their houses six alive: but even fell downe starke dead in the high way: and when any were so wearie that they could march no farther for the weight of their burdens, or that some of them fell sicke, or fainted for hunger or thirst, because it should not need to stand so long as to unlocke the chaine, and to make the speedier dispatch, hee cut off the head from the shoulders, and so the head tumbled downe one way, and the bodie another. Now consider with your selves, what the other poore soules might thinke the whiles.

Cause and extremitie of famine.

He was the cause that the Indians sowed not their grounds one whole yeeres continuance. So as now, when they wanted bread, the Spaniards tooke away from the Indians their Maiz, which they had in store for provision, to nourish them and their children: whereby there died of famine more then twentie or thirtie thousand soules. And it came to passe, that a woman falne mad with the famine slue her Sonne to eate him.

They have discomfited and oppressed in this Province a great number of people, and hastened their death in causing them to beare boords and timber unto the Haven thirty leagues distance, to make ships with: and sent them to go seeke Honie and Wax amiddest the Mountaines, where the Tigres devoured them: Yea they have laden women with childe, and women new delivered or lying in, with burdens enough for beasts. [IV. viii. 1577.]

Tribute slaves.

The greatest plague which hath most dispeopled this Province, hath beene the licence which the Governour gave to the Spaniards, to demand or exact of the Caciks and Lords of the countrie slaves. They did give them every foure or five moneths, or as oftentimes as every one could obtaine licence of the Governour fiftie slaves: with threatnings, that if they gave them not, they would burne them alive, or cause them to be eaten with Dogges. Now

ordinarily the Indians doe not keepe slaves, and it is much if one Cacike doe keepe two, three or foure: Wherefore to serve this turne, they went to their subjects, and tooke first all the Orphelins, and afterwards they exacted of him that had two children one, and of him that had three, two: and in this manner was the Cacicke faine to furnish still to the number that the Tyrant imposed, with the great weeping and crying of the people: for they are people that doe love (as it seemeth) tenderly their children. And for because that this was done continually, they dispeopled from the yeere 23. unto the yeere 33. all this Realme. For there went for sixe or seven yeeres space, five or sixe ships at a time, carrying forth great numbers of those Indians, for to sell them for slaves at Joanama and Peru: where they all died not long after. For it is a thing proved and experimented a thousand times, that when the Indians are transported from their naturall Countrey, they soone end their lives: besides that these give them not their sustenance, neither yet diminish they of their toile, as neither doe they buy them, for ought else but to toile. They have by this manner of doing drawne out of this Province of the Indies, whom they have made slaves, being as free borne as I am, more then five hundred thousand soules. And by the Devillish warres which the Spanish have made on them, and the hideous thraldome that they have laid upon them, they have brought to their deaths, other fiftie or threescore thousand persons, and do yet daily make havocke of them at this present. All these slaughters have beene accomplished within the space of fourteene yeeres. There may be left at this day in all this Provinces of Nicaragua, the number of about foure or five thousand persons, which they also cause to die as yet every day, through bondages and oppressions ordinarily and personall, having beene the Countrey the most peopled in the World, as I have alreadie said.

500000. *Indians transported.*

50000 *slaine.*

Of New Spaine.

IN the yeere 1517. was New Spaine discovered: at the Discoverie whereof were committed great disorders and slaughters of the Indians, by those which had the doing of that Exploite. The yeere 1518. there went Spanish Christians (as they terme themselves) to rob and slay, notwithstanding that they said they went to people the Countrie. Sithence that yeere, 1518. unto this present yeere 1542. the unjust dealings, the violencie, and the Tyrannies which the Spaniards have wrought against the Indians, are mounted to the highest degree of extremitie: those selfe-same Spaniards, having thorowly lost the feare of God, and of the King, and forgotten themselves. For the discomfitures, cruelties, slaughters, spoiles, the destructions of Cities, pillages, violences, and Tyrannies which they have made in so many Realmes, and so great have been such and so horrible, that all the things which we have spoken of, are nothing in comparison of those which have beene done and executed from the yeere 1518. unto the yeere 1542. and as yet at this time, this moneth current of September, are in doing and committing the most grievousest, and the most abominablest of all: in such sort that the rule which wee set downe before is verified: That is, That from the beginning they have alwaies proceeded from evill to worse, and have gone beyond themselves in the most greatest disorders and devillish doings.

In the former discourse of Herera, you may find the names of all these first planters, or as this Author reckoneth, supplanters; which did rather depopulate then people whole Provinces. I could have added their names, but was loth to doe more then the Author had done then, whiles many of them lived: yea his most passionate and bitter invectives I have taken out, only minding the Storie, therein also mollifying many things.

In such wise, as that since the first entring into New Spaine, which was on the eight day of Aprill, in the eighteenth yeere unto the thirtieth yeere, which make twelve yeeres complete: the slaughters and the destructions have never ceassed, which the bloudie and cruell hands of the Spaniards have continually executed in foure hundred and fiftie leagues of Land or thereabout in compasse, round about Mexico, and the Neighbour Regions round about, such as the which might containe

foure or five great Realmes, as great and a great deale farre fertiler then is Spaine. All this Countrie was more peopled with Inhabitants, then Toledo, and Sivill, and Vallodolid, and Savagoce, with Barcelona. For that there hath not beene commonly in those Cities, nor never were such a world of people, when they have beene peopled with the most, as there was then in the said Country, which containeth in the whole compasse more then 1800. leagues: during the time of the above mentioned twelve yeeres, the Spaniards have slaine and done to death in the said 450. leagues of Land what men, what women, what young and little children, more then foure Millions of soules, with the dint of the Sword and Speare, and by fire, during (I say) the Conquests (as they call them.) Neither yet doe I here comprize those, whom they have slaine, and doe slay as yet every day, in the aforesaid slaverie and oppression ordinarie.

Foure Millions slaine.

Of New Spaine in particular.

Amongst other Murders and Massacres they committed this one which I am now to speake of, in a great Citie more then of a thirtie thousand housholds, which is called Cholula: that is, that comming before them the Lords of the Countrie and places neere adjoyning, and first and formost the Priests with their chiefe high Priest in procession, to receive the Spaniards with great solemnitie and reverence, so conducting them in the middest of them, towards their Lodgings in the Citie, in the houses and place of the Lord, or other principall Lords of the Citie: the Spaniards advised with themselves to make a massacre, or a chastise (as they speake) to the end, to raise and plant a dread of their cruelties in every corner of all that Countrie.

[IV. viii. 1578.]

Now this hath beene alwaies their customary manner of doing, in every the Regions which they have entred into, to execute incontinent upon their first arrivall, some notable cruell butcherie, to the end, that those poore and innocent Lambes should tremble for feare which they should have of them: in this wise they sent first to summon all the Lords and Noblemen of the Citie, and

of all the places subject unto the same Citie: who so soone as they came to speake with the Captaine of the Spaniards, were incontinent apprehended before that any body might perceive the matter, to be able thereupon to beare tidings thereof unto others. Then were demanded of them five or sixe thousand Indians, to carry the lodings and carriages of the Spaniards: which Indians came forthwith, and were bestowed into the base Courts of the Houses. It was a pitifull case to see these poore folke, what time they made them ready to beare the carriages of the Spaniard. They come all naked, only their secret parts covered, having every one upon their shoulder a Net with a small deale of victuall: they bow themselves every one, and hold their backes cowred downe like a sort of sillie Lambes, presenting themselves to the Swords: and thus being all assembled in the base Court, together with others, one part of the Spanish all armed, bestowe themselves at the gates to hemme them in, whiles the rest put these poore Sheepe to the edge of the Sword and the Speares, in such sort, that there could not escape away one onely person, but that he was cruelly put to death: saving that after a two or three dayes you might have seene come forth sundry all covered with bloud which had hid and saved themselves under the dead bodies of their fellowes, and now presenting themselves before the Spaniards, asking them mercy and the saving of their lives: they found in them no pitie nor compassion any whit at all, but were all hewed in pieces.

All the Lords which were above and underneath, were all bound, the Captaine commanding them to be brent quicke being bound unto stakes pitched into the ground. Howbeit one Lord, which might be peradventure the principall and King of the Countrie saved himselfe, and cast himselfe with thirtie or fortie other men into a Temple thereby, which was as good unto them as a Fort, which they call in their Language, Qewe: and there he defended himselfe a good part of the day. But the Spaniards, whose hands nothing can escape specially armed for the

warre, cast fire on the Temple, and burned all those which were within.

The Mexican cruelties are before related, and therefore here omitted.

From Cholula they went to Mexico. The King Motensuma sent to meet them a thousand of presents, and Lords, and people, making joy and mirth by the way.

After great and abhominable tyrannies committed in the Citie of Mexico, and in other Cities, and the Countrey, ten, fifteene, and twenty leagues compasse of Mexico: this tyrannie and pestilence advanced it selfe forward, to waste also, infect, and lay desolate the Province of Panuco. It was a thing to be wondred at of the world, of people that there were, and the spoyles and slaughters there done. Afterward they wasted also after the selfe manner, all the Province of Tuttepeke, and the Province of Ipelingo, and the Province of Columa: each Province contayning more ground then the Realme of Leon and Castile.

This Captaine tyrant, with this gorgeous and pretended title, dispatched two other Captaines, as very tyrants and farre more cruell, and lesse pitifull then himselfe, into great Realmes most flourishing, and most fertile, and full of people, to wit, the Realme of Guatimala, which lieth to the Seaward on the South side, and the same of Naco, and Honduras, otherwise called Guaymura, which coasteth on the Sea on the North side, confronting and confining the one with the other, three hundred leagues distance from Mexico. He sent the one by Land, and the other by Sea: both the one and the other carried with them a many of troopes to serve on horsebacke and a foot.

He which went by Sea, committed exceeding pillings, cruelties, and disorders amongst the people on the Sea-coast.

The Provinces and Realmes of Naco and Honduras, which resembled a Paradise of pleasures: and were more peopled, frequented, and inhabited, then any Countrey in the world: now of late, wee comming along thereby, have seene them so dispeopled and destroyed, that who so should see them, his heart would cleave for sorrow,

ware hee never so flinty. They have slaine within these eleven yeeres, more then two millions of soules, having not left in more then an hundred leagues of the Countrey square, but two thousand persons, whom they slay as yet daily in the said ordinary bondage.

Two millions slaine.

The great tyrant and Captaine, which went to Guatimala (as hath beene said, exceeded all) from the Provinces neere to Mexico, (according as himselfe wrote in a Letter to the principall Tyrant which had sent him) distant from the Realme of Guatimala foure hundred leagues (keeping the way by him traced) as he went, slue, robbed, burned and destroyed all the Countrey, wheresoever he became, under the shadow of title above mentioned, saying: that they should submit themselves unto them, in the name of the King of Spaine, who was unto them unknowne, and of whom they had never heard speake: and which those Nations there esteemed more unjust and more cruell then they his men were. And the Tyrants giving them no respite of time to deliberate, they fling upon the poore folke, in a manner as soone as the message was done, putting all to fire and bloud.

[IV. viii. 1579.]

Pretence of rebellion against that Prince to which they never had beene subject.

Of the Province and Realme of Guatimala.

NO sooner arrived hee into this said Realme: but that hee beganne with great slaughter of the Inhabitants. This notwithstanding the chiefe Lord came to receive him, being carried in a Lighter, with Trumpets and Tabours, rejoycings, and disports, accompanied with a great number of the Lords of the Citie of Ultlatan, head Citie of the whole Realme, doing them also service with all they had, but specially in giving them food abundantly, and whatsoever they demanded besides. The Spanish lodged this night without the Citie, forasmuch as the same seemed unto them strong, and there might be thereby danger.

This Captaine called to him the next morrow the chiefe Lord, with other great Lords, who being come as meeke sheepe, he apprehended them all, and commanded them

to give him certaine summes of gold. They answering that they had none, forasmuch as the Countrie yeelded none: he commandeth incontinent to burne them alive, without having committed any crime whatsoever, and without any other forme of Processe or sentence.

As the Lords of all these Provinces perceived, that they had burned their soveraigne Lords, onely because they gave them no Gold, they fled all to the Mountaines, commanding their Subjects to goe to the Spaniards, and to serve them as their Lords, but that they should not discover them, nor give them intelligence where they were. With this, loe all the people of the Countrey, presenting them, and protesting to be theirs, and to serve them as their Lords: The Captaine made answere that he would not accept of them, but that he would kill them if they told not where were their Lords. The Indians answered, they could not tell ought: but as touching themselves they were content, that they should employ them to their service, with their wives and children: and that they should use their houses, and that there they might kill, or doe whatsoever them pleased.

It is a wonderfull thing, that the Spaniards went to their Villages and Burrowes, and finding there these silly people at their worke, with their wives and children, neither misdoubting any thing, they pierced them with their Boare-speares, and hackled them to pieces. They came to one Burrow great and mighty, which held it selfe more assured then any other, because of their innocency: whom the Spanish laid desolate in a manner all whole, in the space of two houres, putting to the edge of the sword, children, with women, and aged persons, and all those which could not escape by fleeing.

The Indians advised betweene them to digge certaine ditches in the middest of the wayes, to make their Horses tumble into, and piercing their bellies with Pikes sharpned and brent at one end, there bestowed of purpose, and covered over so orderly with greene turfe, that it seemed there was no such matter.

There fell in Horses once or twice: for the Spaniards afterwards could beware of them. But now to avenge them, they made a Law, that as many Indians as might bee taken alive, should be flung into the same pits. Hereupon they cast in women with child, and women new delivered of child-birth, and old folke as many as they could come by, untill that the ditches were filled up. It was a lamentable thing to behold the women with their children stabbed with these pickes. All besides, they slue with thrust of Speares, and edge of Sword. They cast of them also to flesh fraunching Dogs, which tare them and devoured them. They brent a Lord at a great fire of quicke flames: saying, they would herein doe him honour. And they persisted in these butcheries so unnaturall, about seven yeeres, from the yeere 24. untill the yeere 31.

The Indians which escaped, with all other of the Countrie seeing all the mischiefes of the Spanish, began to assemble, and put themselves in Armes: whereupon the Spaniards worke great discomfitures and slaughters, returning to Guatimala, where they builded a Citie, the which God of a just judgement hath reversed with three overwhelmings falling all three together: the one was with water, the other with earth, and the third with stones, of the bignesse of ten or twentie Oxen. By such like meanes all the Lords, and the men that were able to beare Armes being slaine: those which remayned, were reduced into the Diabolicall servitude aforesaid, being made tributary slaves or villaines regardant, but giving for their tribute sonnes and daughters, for they will have none other kinde of bond-men. And so the Spaniards sending whole ships laden with them to Peru, to sell them, with their other slaughters, have destroyed and laid desart an whole Realme, of an hundred leagues square, or above, a Countrie the most blessefull, and peopled the most that might be in the world. For the Tyrant himselfe wrote hereof, that it was more peopled then Mexico: and herein he said the truth. He hath done to death, with his con-

Guatimala destroyed with Earth-quakes.

Foure or five millions slaine. [IV. viii. 1580.]

sorts and confreres, more then foure or five millions of soules in fifteene or sixteene yeeres space, from the yeere 24. unto the yeere 40. and yet at this houre they slay and destroy those that remayne.

This Tyrant had a custome, when as he went to make warre upon any Citie or Province: to carrie thither of the Indians already under-yoaked, as many as hee could, to make warre upon the other Indians: and as he gave unto a ten or twentie thousand men which hee led along no sustenance, he allowed them to eate the Indians which they tooke: And so by this meanes hee had in his Campe an ordinary shambles of mans flesh, where in his presence they killed and rosted children. They killed men onely to have off from them their hands and their feete, which parts they held to be the daintiest morsels.

Shambles of mans flesh.

He was the death of an infinite sort of the Indians in making of ships, the which hee transported after this rate great store of Artilerie, which hee loded upon the shoulders of these poore folke going naked: whereby I have seene very many fall downe in the high way, by reason of their great burdens. He undid whole housholds, by taking from the men their wives and daughters: the which afterwards he dispersed in gifts to his Mariners and Souldiers to please them withall, who led them along with them in their Navies. Hee stuffed all the ships with Indians, where they died for thirst and hunger. He made two Navies, either of a great number of ships, with the which he consumed as with fire and lightning flashing from Heaven all those peoples.

Of new Spaine, and Panuco, and Xalisco.

AFter the exceeding cruelties and slaughters aforesaid, and the others which I have omitted, which have beene executed in the Provinces of New Spaine and Panuco: there came to Panuco another Tyrant, cruell and unbrideled, in the yeere 1525. Who in committing very many cruelties, and in branding many for slaves,

after the manner aforesaid, which were all free, and in sending very many ships laden to Cuba, and Hispaniola, where they might best make merchandise of them, he atchieved the desolation of this Province.

And it hath come to passe in his time, that there hath beene given for one Mare, eight hundred Indians soules partakers of reason. And this man from this roome was promoted to be President of Mexico, and of all the Province of New Spaine, and there were promoted with him other Tyrants, to the offices of Auditorships: in the which dignities they set forward also this Countrie into so extreme a desolation, that if God had not kept them by meanes of the resistance of the religious men of Saint Francis Order, and if that there had not beene provided with all speed a Court of Audience, and the Kings Counsell in those parts friend to all vertue, they had layd waste all New Spaine, as they have done the Ile of Hispaniola. There was a man, amongst those of the companie of this Captaine, who to the end to enclose a Garden of his, with a wall: kept in his workes eight thousand Indians, without paying them ought, nor giving them to eate, in manner that they died, falling downe suddenly, and hee never tooke the more thought for the matter.

800. *Indians given for a Mare.*

After that the chiefe Captaine which I spake of, had finished the laying waste of Panuco, and that hee understood the newes of the comming of the Kings Court of Audience: hee advised with himselfe to proceed farther into the innermost parts of the Realme, to search where hee might tyrannize at his ease, and drew by force out of the Province of Mexico, fifteene or twentie thousand men, to the end, that they should carrie the loades and carriages of the Spaniards, which went with him, of whom there never returned againe two hundred, the others being dead on the high-wayes.

He came at the Province of Mechuacham, which is distant from Mexico fortie leagues, a Region as blissefull and full of Inhabitants, as is that of Mexico. The King

and Lord of the Countrey went to receive him with an infinite companie of people, which did unto them a thousand services and curtesies. He apprehended him by and by, for that he had the bruit to be very rich of Gold and silver: and to the end, that he should give him great treasures, he beganne to give him the torments, and put him in a paire of stockes by the feet, his body stretched out, and his hands bound to a stake, he maketh a flashing fire against his feet, and there a boy with a basting sprinkle soked in Oyle in his hand, stood and basted them a little and a little, to the end to well rost the skinne. There was in one side of him a cruell man, the which with a Cros-bow bent, aymed right at his heart, on the other side another which held a Dog snarling, and leaping up as to runne upon him, which in lesse then the time of a Credo, had beene able to have torne him in pieces: and thus they tormented him, to the end hee should discover the treasures which they desired, untill such time as a religious man of Saint Francis Order tooke him away from them, notwithstanding that hee died of the same torments. They tormented and slue of this fashion very many of the Lords and Cacikes in these Provinces: to the end that they should give them Gold and Silver.

At the same time a certaine tyrant found, that certaine Indians had hid their Idols, as those which had never beene better instructed by the Spaniards of any better God, hee apprehended and detayned prisoners the Lords, untill such time as that they would give them their Idols, supposing all this while they had beene of Gold or of Silver: howbeit they were not so, wherefore he chastised them cruelly and unjustly. But to the end he would not remayne frustrate of his intent, which was to spoyle, he constrayned the Cacikes to redeeme their said Idols, and they redeemed them for such Gold and Silver as they could finde, to the end, to worship them for Gods, as they had beene wont to doe aforetime.

[IV. viii. 1581.]

This great Captaine passed farther from Mechuacham to the Province of Xalisco, the which was all whole most

Xalisco.

full of people, and most happie. For it is one of the most fertilest and most admirable Countrie of the Indies, which had Burrowes contayning in a manner seven leagues. As he entred this Countrey, the Lord with the Inhabitants, according as all the Indians are accustomed to doe, went to receive him with presents and joyfulnesse. Hee began to commit his cruelties and mischievousnesse, which hee had learned, and all the rest had beene accustomed to practise, which is to heape up Gold, which is their God. Hee burned Townes, hee tooke the Cacikes prisoners, and gave them torments. Hee made slaves all that hee tooke. Whereof there died an infinite number tyed in chaines. The women new delivered of child-birth, going laden with the stuffe of evill Christians, and being not able to beare their owne children because of travell and hunger, were faine to cast them from them in the wayes, whereof there died an infinite.

An evill Christian taking by force a young Damsell to abuse her, the mother withstood him: and as shee would have taken her away, the Spaniard drawing his Dagger or Rapier, cut off her hand, and slue the young girle with slashes of his weapon: because shee would not consent to his appetite.

Amongst many other things, he caused unjustly to be marked for slaves, foure thousand and five hundred soules as free as they, men, women, and sucking babes, from of a yeere and a halfe old, unto three or foure yeeres old: which notwithstanding had gone before them in peace, to receive them with an infinite number of other things that have not beene set downe in writing.

His Stewards slue very many of the Indians, hanging them and burning them alive, and casting some unto the Dogs, cutting off their feet, hands, head and tongue, they being in peace, onely to bring them into a feare, to the end they should serve him.

It is said of him, that he hath destroyed and burned in this Realme of Xalisco, eight hundred Burrowes, which was the cause that the Indians being fallen desperate, and

800. *Townes destroyed.*

seeing those which remayned, how they perished thus cruelly: they lift up themselves, and went into the Mountaines, slaying certaine Spaniards: howbeit by good right. And afterwards because of the wickednesses and outrages of other tyrants now being, which passed by that way to destroy other Provinces (that which they call discovering) many of the Indians assembled, fortifying themselves upon certaine Rockes. Upon the which Rockes the Spanish have made, and yet at this present, and afresh doe make so many cruelties, that they almost made an end of laying desolate all this great Countrey, slaying an infinite number of people.

Of the Realme of Yucatan.

THe yeare one thousand five hundred twenty and six, was deputed over the Realme of Yucatan another caitiffe Governour, and that through the lies and false reports, which himselfe had made unto the King: in like manner as the other tyrants untill this present, to the end there might be committed unto them offices and charges, by meanes whereof they might rob at their pleasures. This Realme of Yucatan was full of inhabitants; for that it was a Countrie in every respect wholesome, and abounding in plentie of victuals, and of fruites more then Mexico; and singularly exceeded for the abundance of Honie and Waxe there to be found, more then in any quarter of the Indies, which hath beene seene unto this present. It containeth about three hundred leagues compasse. The people of that Countrie were the most notable of all the Indies, as well in consideration of their policie and prudencie, as for the uprightnesse of their life, verily worthy the training of the knowledge of God: amongst whom there might have beene builded great Cities by the Spanish, in which they might have lived as in an earthly Paradise, if so be they had not made themselves unworthy, because of their exceeding covetousnesse, hard hartednesse, and heinous offences: as also

unworthy they were of other moe blessings a great many, which God had set open in these Indies. This tyrant began with three hundred men to make warre upon these poore innocent people, which were in their houses without hurting any body: where he slew and ransacked infinite numbers. And for because the Countrey yeeldeth no Gold, for if it had yeelded any, he would have consumed those same Indians, in making them to toyle in the Mines; to the end he might make Gold of the bodies and soules of those for whom Jesus Christ suffered death, he generally made slaves of all those whom he slew not, and returned the Ships that were come thither, upon the blowing abroad and noyse of the selling of slaves, full of people bartered for Wine, Oyle, Vinegar, powdred Bacons flesh, Garments, Horses, and that that every man had neede of, according to the Captains estimate and judgement. He would let choose amongst an hundred or fiftie yong Damosels, bartering some one of the fairest, and of the best complexion, for a Caske of Wine; Oyle, [IV. viii. Vinegar, or for Porke powdred. And in like manner he 1582.] would let choose out a young hansome Stripling amongst two or three hundred for the foresaid Merchandize. And it hath beene seene, that a youth seeming to bee the Sonne of some Prince, hath beene bartered for a Cheese, and a hundred persons for an Horse. Hee continued in these doings from the yeere twentie sixe, untill the yeere thirtie three.

As these Spaniards, went with their mad Dogges a foraging by the tracke, and hunting out the Indian men and women: An Indian woman being sicke, and seeing she could not escape their Dogges, that they should not rent her as they did others: shee tooke a coard and hanged her selfe at a beame, having fastened at her foot a child she had of a yeere old, and she had no sooner done: behold these Curres, which come and dispatch this infant, howbeit that before it died, a Religious man a Frier baptized it.

When the Spanish parted out of this Realme, one

amongst others said, to a Sonne of a Lord of some Citie or Province, that he should goe with him: the Boy answered, and said, he would not forsake his Countrie. The Spaniard replied: Goe with me, or else I will cut off thine eares. The young Indian persisted in his first saying, that he would not forsake his Countrie. The Spaniard drawing out his Dagger, cut off first one, and then his other eare. The young man abiding by it still that he would not leave his Countrie: he mangled off also his Nose, with the uppermost of his lips: making no more scrupulositie of the matter, then if he had given him but a philip. This damnable wretch magnified himselfe, and vaunted him of his doings villanously unto a reverend Religious person, saying: that hee tooke as much paines as hee could, to beget the Indian women in great numbers with child, to the end, he might receive the more money for them in selling them great with childe for slaves.

In this Realme, or in one of the Provinces of New Spaine, a certaine Spaniard went one day with his Dogges on hunting of Venison, or else Conies, and not finding game, hee minded his Dogges that they should bee hungrie, and tooke a little sweet Babie which hee bereaved the mother of, and cutting off from him the armes and the legges, chopped them in small gobbets, giving to every Dogge his Liverie or part thereof, by and by after these morsels thus dispatched, he cast also the rest of the bodie or the carkasse to all the kenell together.

Being now departed the Realme all the Devillish Tyrants, blinded with the covetousnesse of the riches of Peru, that reverend Father, Frier James, with foure other Religious of Saint Francis, was moved in spirit to goe into this Realme to pacifie them, and for to preach to them, and to winne unto Jesus Christ those which might bee remayning of the Butcheries and Tyrannous Murders, which the Spanish had beene perpetrating seven continuall yeeres. And I beleeve that these same were those

Religious persons, the which in the yeere thirtie foure, certaine Indians of the Province of Mexico, sending before them Messengers in their behalfe, requested them that they would come into their Countrie, to give them knowledge of that one only God, who is God, and very Lord of all the world: according in the end to admit them with condition, that they should enter themselves alone, and not the Spaniards with them, that which the Religious promised them. For it was permitted them, yea commanded them so to doe, by the Vice-roy of New Spaine, and that there should bee no kind of displeasure bee done unto them by the Spaniards. The Religious men preached unto them the Gospell of Christ, as they are accustomed to doe, and as had beene the holy intention of the Kings of Castile, that should have beene done. Howbeit, that the Spaniards in all the seven yeeres space past, had never given them any such notice of the truth of the Gospell, or so much as that there was any other King saving himselfe, that so tyrannized over them, and destroyed them. By these meanes of the Religious, after the end of fortie dayes that they had preached unto them, the Lords of the Countrie brought unto them, and put into their hands their Idols, to the end that they should burne them. After also they brought unto them their young children, that they should catechise them, whom they love as the Apple of their eye. They made for them also Churches, and Temples, and houses. Moreover, some other Provinces sent, and invited them, to the end that they might come to them also, to preach, and give them the understanding of God, and of him whom they said to bee the great King of Castile. And being perswaded and induced by the Religious, and did a thing which never yet before hath beene done in the Indies. Twelve or fifteene Lords, which had very many subjects and great dominion, assembling every one for his owne part his people, and taking their advise and consent, of their owne voluntarie motion, yeelded themselves to the subjection, and to be under the domination of the Kings of Castile:

admitting the Emperour as King of Spaine, for their Liege Sovereigne. Whereof also they made certaine Instruments, by them consigned, which I keepe in my charge, together with the Testimonies thereunto of the said Religious.

The Indians being thus onward in the way of the faith, with the great joy, and good hope of the Religious Brethren, that they should be able to winne unto Jesus Christ all the people of the Realme that were the residue, being but a small number of the slaughters, and wicked wars passed: There entred at a certaine Coast, eighteene Spaniards Tyrants on horsebacke, and twelve on foot, driving with them great loades of Idols, which they had taken in the other Provinces of the Indians. The Captaine of those thirtie Spaniards called unto him a Lord of the Countrie therabouts as they were entred, and commandeth him to take those Idols, and to disperse them throughout all his Countrie, selling every Idoll for an Indian man, or an Indian woman, to make slaves of them, with threatning them, that if he did not doe it, he would bid them battaile. That said Lord being forced by feare, distributed those Idols throughout all the Countrie, and commanded all his subjects, that they should take them to adore them, and that they should returne in exchange of that ware Indies and Indisses to make slaves of. The Indians beeing affraid, those which had two children, gave him one, and hee that had three gave him two. This was the end of this Sacrilegious Trafficke: and thus was this Lord or Cacique, faine to content these Spaniards: I say not Christians.

[IV. viii. 1583.]

One of these abominable Chafferers, named John Garcia, being sicke, and neere his death, had under his bed to packs of Idols, and commanded his Indish Maid that served him, to looke to it that she made not away his Idols, that there were for Murlimeus, for they were good stuffe: and that making vent of them, shee should not take lesse then a slave a piece for one of them with another: and in fine, with this his

Testament and last Will thus devised, the Catiffe died.

The Indians perceiving that, that which the Religious had promised them, was as good as nothing: namely, that the Spaniards should not enter those Provinces: and seeing the Spaniards which had laded thither Idols from other places, there to make vent of them, they having put all their Idols afore into the hands of the Friars, to the end they should bee burned, and to the end the true God should be by them adored, all the Country was in a mutinie, and a rage against the Religious Friars, and the Indians comming unto them, say: Why have you lied unto us, in promising us by deceits that there should not enter any Spaniards into these Countries? And why have you burnt our gods, seeing the Spaniards doe bring us other Gods from other Nations? Were not our Gods as good as the Gods of other Provinces? The Friars pacified them in the best manner that they could, not knowing what to answere them: and went to seeke out those thirty Spaniards, to whom they declared the evill which they had done, praying them to get them thence: which the Spaniards would not doe, but said to the Indians, that those Religious men had caused them to come thither themselves of their owne accord, which was rightly an extreme maliciousnesse. In the end the Indians deliberated to kill the Religious men: By occasion whereof, the Friers fled away in a night, having advertisement of the case by some of the Indians.

Of the Province of Saint Martha.

THe Province of Saint Martha, was a Countrie where the Spaniards gathered Gold in all plentie: the Land being with the Regions adjacent very rich, and the people industrious to draw out the Gold. Wherefore also infinite Tyrants have made thither continually with their ships, over-running, and ranging along the Country, killing and spoyling those the Inhabitants, and ramping from them

that gold that they had, with speedie returne ever to their ships, which went and came oftentimes. And so wrought they in those Provinces great wasts and slaughters, and cruelties horrible, and that most commonly on the Sea-coast, and certaine leagues within the Country. At what time there went Spanish Tyrants to inhabite there. And for as much as the Country was exceeding rich as hath beene said, there ever succeeded Captaines one in anothers roome, every one more cruell then other: in such sort that it seemed that every one inforced himselfe, for the masterie in doing of evils. The yeere 1529. there went a great Tyrant, very resolute, with great troupes: but without any feare of God, or compassion of the nature of man, who wrought such wastes and slaughters so great, that he exceeded all others that had gone before him, himselfe robbing for the space of sixe or seven yeeres that he lived, great Treasures: after being deceassed without confession, and fled from the place of his residence: there succeeded him other murdering Tyrants and Theeves, which made an end of the rest of the people: that from the yeere 1529. unto this day, they have reduced into a Wildernesse in those same quarters more then 400. leagues of Land, which was no lesse peopled then the other Countries which we have spoken of.

Verily if I had to make a bed-roll of the Ungraciousnesses, of the Slaughters, of the Desolations, of the Iniquities, of the Violencies, of the Massacres, and other great Insolencies which the Spaniards have done, and committed in those Provinces of Saint Martha, against God, the King, and against those innocent Nations: I should write an Historie very ample. But that may be done if God spare me life, hereafter in his good time: onely I will set downe a few words of that which was written in a Letter by a Bishop of this Province, to the King our Sovereigne: and the Letter beareth date the twentieth of May, 1541. The which Bishop amongst other words speaketh thus: I say, sacred Majestie, that the way to redresse this Countrie, is that his Majestie

Bishop of S. Marthas Letter to Charles the fifth.

deliver her out of the power of Stepfathers, and give unto her an husband which may intreate her as is reason, and according as shee deserveth: otherwise, I am sure hereafter as the Tyrants which now have the government, doe torment and tormoyle her, she will soone take an end, &c. And a little below he saith: Whereby, your Majestie shall know cleerely, how those which governe in those quarters doe deserve to be dismounted, and deposed from their government, to the end, that the Common-weales may be relieved. That if that be not done, in mine advise, they can never be cured of their diseases. His Majestie shall understand moreover, that in those Regions, there are not any Christians but Devils, that there are no Servants of God and the King, but Traitors to the state, and their King. And in truth the greatest incumbrance that I find in reducing the Indians, that are in warre, and to set them at peace, and to lead those which are at peace to the knowledge of our faith, is unnaturall and cruell entreatie, which they that are in peace receive of the Spanish, being so deeply altered, and launced, that they have nothing in more hatred and horror, then the name of Christians, the which in all these Countries they call in their Language, Yares, that is to say, Devils. For the acts which they committed here, are neither of Christians, nor of men which have the use of reason: but of Devils. [IV. viii. 1584.]

Whereof it commeth to passe, that the Indies which doe see these behaviours to be generally so farre estranged from all humanitie, and without any mercie, aswell in the heads as in the members: they esteeme, that the Christians do hold these things for a Law, and that their God, and their King are the Authors thereof. And to endevour to perswade them otherwise, were to endevour in vaine, and to minister unto them the more ample matter, to deride and scorne Jesus Christ and his Law. The Indians that are in war, seeing the intreatie used toward the Indians that are in peace: would choose rather to die once for all, then to endure sundrie deaths, beeing under the

command of the Spanish. I know this by experience, most victorious Cæsar, &c.

He calleth the Indians in warre, those which saved themselves by flying into the Mountaines from the slaughters of the mischievous Spaniards. And hee calleth the Indians in peace, those which after having lost an infinite of their people, by the Massacres, have beene thralled into the Tyrannicall and horrible servitude aforesaid, and whereof in the end they have beene fined out, desolated, and slaine, as appeareth by that which hath beene said by the Bishoppe, which notwithstanding speaketh but little, in comparison of that which they have suffered.

The Indians in that Countrie have accustomed to say, if when they are travelled and driven up the Mountaines loden, they happen to fall downe, and to faint for feeblenesse, and for paine: for at that time they lay on upon them blowes with their feet and with their staves, and they breake their teeth with the pummels of their Swords, to make them rise, and march on without taking of breath, with these words, Out upon thee, what a Villaine art thou? they (I say) the Indians, for their parts are wont to say, I can no more: kill me here right. I doe desire to die heere: and this they say with great sighes, and being scarce able to speake, for having their heart drawne together, declaring a great anguish and dolour.

Of the Province of Carthagene.

THis Province of Carthagene, is situate under, and a fiftie leagues distant from the same of Saint Martha, towards the West, confining with the Province of Cev, unto the Gulph of Araba: which are a hundred leagues all along the Sea-side, and is a great Countrie within Land towards the South. Their Provinces since the yeere 1498. or ninetie nine, untill now have beene evill entreated, martyred, massacred, desolated like unto that of Saint Martha.

Of the Coast of Pearles, and of Paria, and of the Ile of the Trinitie.

FRom the Coast of Paria, unto the Gulfe of Venesuela, without forth, which are two hundred leagues: the Spanish have wrought great and strange destructions, rioting upon that people, and taking alive as many as they could, to the end they might sell them for slaves: and oftentimes making them prisoners against the assurance and the promise of friendship made unto them. It cannot bee well told, nor particularly exprest, the sundrie kindes and greivous vexations, wrongs, hurts, and spoiles, which those people, indured at the Spaniards hands, from the yeere 1510. untill this present. I will onely rehearse two or three acts, by the which it may be judged of the rest, innumerable and excessive, and worthy all torments and fire.

In the Ile of the Trinitie, which is farre greater and more fertile then the Ile of Sicile, and joyneth with the firme Land of the Coast of Paria, and where the people are the best disposed, and most enclined to vertue in their kind, of all the Indians, as they went, there a Captaine Rover in the yeere, 1510. accompanied with sixtie or seventie other pettie Theeves well appointed: they published among the Indians by Proclamations, and other publike Summons, that they should come and dwell and live with them in that Ile. The Indians received them as their owne bowels and babes: and as well the Lords as Subjects served them with exceeding readinesse, bringing them to eate from day to day, as much as might suffice to feed, as many moe people. For this is the liberalitie of all these Indians of the new World, to bestow on the Spaniards of all that they have in great abundance.

The Spanish build a great house of Timber in the which the Indians should dwell altogether: for the Spanish would have it so, that there should bee one only house for all, and no more, to compasse that, which they had [IV. viii. 1585.]

alreadie premeditate to doe, and did it. When they laid the Thatch upon the binding staves or sparres, and had alreadie covered to the height of two mens length, to the end that those that were within might not see those that were without, under colour to hasten forward the worke, that it might be the sooner dispached, they set a great number of people within, the Spaniards deviding themselves, the one part of them being bestowed without, compassing the house round about with their weapons, because of those that might get forth, the other part of them presse into the house: Thus laying hands on their Swords, they beganne to threaten the Indians naked as they were, to kill them if they did stirre, and then bound them. And those which fled they hewed them in pieces: Howbeit some of the Indians which fled, both of the hurt and not hurt, with others that had not come within the house, tooke their Bowes and Arrowes and assembled themselves in another house, about an hundred or two hundred persons: And as they kept the gate, the Spaniards set fire on the house, and burned them alive. After with their purchase, which might bee of an hundred or fourescore persons of them which they had bound: they get them to the Ile of Saint John, where they sold the one moitie, and thence to the Ile of Hispaniola: where they sold the other moitie. As I reprehended the Captaine for this notable Treason, at the same time, and at the same Ile of Saint John, he made an answere: Sir, quiet your selfe for that matter. So have they commanded me to doe, and given me instruction which sent me: that if I could not take them by warre, I should take them under countenance and colour of peace. And in truth the Captaine told mee that in all his life, he never had found Father nor Mother, but in this Ile of Trinitie, in respect of the friendly courtesies the Indians had shewed him.

At another time, the Religious Friars of Saint Dominickes Order, beeing determined to goe preach, they received them as Angels comne from Heaven: and

heard with great affection, attention, and willingnesse such words as the Religious at that time were able to give them to understand, more by signes then otherwise, for they knew not the tongue. It came to passe that there arrived there another ship, after that the ship in which the Religious men came was departed thence, and the Spanish in this Vessell, keeping their Devillish custome, by suttletie without the knowledge of the Religious, carried away the Lord of the Countrie called Alfonso: were it that Friars had given him this name, or else others. For the Indians love and desire to beare the name of the Christians, desiring incontinent that it may be given them even before they know any thing, that they may be baptized. They induced fraudulently this Don Alfonso to come aboord their ship with the Ladie his wife, and other persons, making semblance to goe about to feast them. In the end there entred seventeene persons, together with the Lord and his Ladie: the Lord trusting that the Religious persons being entred into his Countrie, would keepe the Spaniards from doing any wrong: for otherwise hee would never have put himselfe in the hands of the Spanish. The Indians therefore thus being in the ship, the traiterous Spaniards hoised sailes, and away they went to Hispaniola with them, there selling them for slaves. All the Countrie seeing that their Lord and Ladie were carried away, they runne to the Religious men, purposing to kill them. The poore men appeased the Indians in the best manner they could, saying that they would write to them at Hispaniola by the first ship that went, and would take such care and order in the matter, that their Sovereigne should bee restored them againe with those that were in his company. God sent immediately a ship thither, and they wrote to the Spanish Religious men that were in the Ile of Hispaniola. They cry out, and call Heaven and Earth witnesse against them, both first, and sundrie times after: But the Judges of the audience, would never give them audience to doe them Justice, for because themselves had part in the

bootie of the Indians, which the Tyrants had so against all right and reason taken. The two Religious men, which had promised the Indians of the Countrie, that their Lord Don Alfonso, with others should come home with the rest within foure moneths, seeing that they came not neither in foure nor eight made themselves readie to the death, and to give their life, which they had gaged before they came out of Spaine, if neede should bee, and in that sort the Indians tooke vengeance on them in killing them justly, notwithstanding that they were innocent: for because that they thought, that the Religious men had beene the occasion of this Treason.

Spanish Friers killed for others faults.

Another time, by reason of the great Tyrannies and execrable acts of the cursed ones, bearing the name of Christians, the Indians slue other two Religious men of Saint Dominickes Order, and one of Saint Francis. Whereof I can be a good witnesse for that I escaped at the time miraculously from the same death, of the which it should be a hard matter to intreat, and would be to amaze men, by reason of the grievousnesse and horriblenesse of the case. Wherefore I will not lay it abroad (for being too tedious) untill his time, and at the day of judgement it shall bee more evident, when God shall take vengeance of the Theeveries so horrible and so abominable as are done by those which beare the name of Christians against the Indians.

Another time in those Provinces at the Cape of the Codera, (as they call it) there was a Towne, the Lord whereof was named Higueroto a name either proper to the person, or it may be common to the Lords of the place. This Lord was so bounteous, and his people so vertuous and serviceable, that as many Spaniards as came thither by ship, they found there good entertainment, meate, lodging, all cheering, and refreshing. This said Lord had also delivered many from death of those which were fled thither out of other Provinces, where they had rioted and tyrannized, and come thither sicke, and halfe dead for hunger, whom they refreshed, and afterward sent

[IV. viii. 1586.]

them away safe, to the Ile of Pearles, where there were Spaniards, and might have slaine them if he had would, without that ever any should have knowne it. And shortly to say the Spanish did call the Subjects of Higurroto, the House and Harbour of every body. A Catiffe Tyrant advised himselfe to out-rage that people also, when as they thought themselves sure enough: and getting him to a ship, he had there invited a great number of people to come a boord her as they were accustomed to doe, and to trust the Spaniards. A great number of people being entred into her, men, women, and children, hee hoysed sailes, and went to the Ile of Saint John, where he sold them all for slaves. I came at the same instant to the Ile of Saint John, and I saw the Tyrant, and understood what he had done. He had destroyed all that Township: whereby he did great harme to all other his fellow Tyrants, wonted to rob, and rove all along those Coasts, insomuch as they had in abomination this act so hideous, being bereft thereby of their Harbour, and house of retire, as ordinary and familiar unto them as it had beene their owne home and house.

They have singled out at times from all this Coast, the which was very well peopled unto the Iles of Saint John and Hispaniola, above two Millions of soules, seised upon by their purchases in theeving and robbing: which also every one of them they have slaine not long after, by thrusting them into the Minerals and other tormoiles, besides the great numbers there were there alreadie before time, as we have abovesaid. *Two Millions of stolne Indians.*

It is a tried case, that they never convey away their shippings of Indians so robbed and purchased, as I have said, but that they cast the third part into the Sea, besides those which they slay, when they will sort them to themselves for their chaffer. The cause is, that when as they will by all meanes attaine to the end which they have proposed to themselves: they have need of a great number of people, for to draw a great deale of money, according to the quantitie of the slaves: and they prepare but a *Manner of usage at Sea.*

very small deale of sustenance and water, to serve but a few persons: to the end that those Tyrants whom they cal Purveyours of the ships should not spend them much. And there is but even scarce enough, save to serve the Spaniards turne which goe a roving and robbing: and there is alwaies wanting for the poore Indians. Wherefore also they die for hunger and thirst: and then there is none other remedie but to cast them over the boord into the Sea. And verily a man among them did tell me, that from the Ile of Lucayos, where had beene wrought great slaughters in this manner, unto the Isle of Hispaniola, which are sixtie or seventie leagues there trended a ship all alongst, without that it had either Compasse or Mariners Card, being guided onely by the tracke of dead Indians carkasses floating upon the Seas, of them which had bin cast in. And after they be landed in the Ile, whither they bring them to make sale of them it is to make a heart to yearne of whosoever, have he never so little compassion, to behold them naked and famished, fall downe and faint for hunger and thirst, women, and aged men, and children.

Manner of landing and sharing.

Afterwards they soone after separate them, as it were Lambes, the fathers from the children, and the wives from the husbands, in making troupes of them of ten or twentie persons, and so cast lots on them, to the end, those Purveyours should take their share, which are those who doe rigge and furnish two or three ships for the Navie of those Tyrants, seasing upon all they come by, and pulling the poore men out of their owne housen. And looke when the lot falleth upon the flocke where there were among them any old or sicke person, the Tyrant to whom the same escheated would say: The Devill take the old Graybeard, why doest thou give him mee, to the end I should goe burie him? And this sicke Rascall, what have I to doe that hee should fall out to my lot: to the end, I should be his Phisicion to cure him?

The tyrannie which the Spanish exercise over the Indians, to fish for Pearles, is one of the cruellest things

that is in the World. There is no hell in this life, nor other desperate state in this World, that may be compared unto it: although that the Trade of Gold finding, be in his kind, very grievous, and very miserable. They let them into the Sea, three, foure, or five fathome forth downe right under water, from the morning untill Sun-set, where they are continually flitting without stint, to plucke Oysters, in the which are engendred the Pearles. They surge up above the waters, with a Net full of Oysters to take breath: where standeth readie a Spanish Tormentor, in a little Cocke Boate, or a Brigantine, and if the poore wretches stay never so little while to rest themselves: they all to be buffet them with their fists, and draw them by the haire into the water to returne to their fishing. Their sustenance is fish, and the same very fish which containeth the Pearles, and the bread Caçabi, or some Maiz, which are the kinds of bread of that Countrie: the one of very slender nourishment, the other is not easie to bee made into bread, of the which also, they never give them their belly full. The beds that they lodge them in a nights, is to set them by the heeles, their bodies recoyling on the cold ground, in a paire of stockes for feare of running away. Sometimes they are drowned in the Sea, and at their fishing and travell picking of Pearles, and never rise up againe above the water: because the * Bunches and whirlepooles doe kill them and eate them.

Manner of Pearle-fishing.

[IV. viii. 1587.]

**Sharkes.*

It is impossible, that men should be able to live any long season under the water without taking breath, the continuall cold piercing them, and so they die commonly, parbraking of bloud at the mouth, and of the bloudy fluxe, caused by the cold. Their haires, which by nature are cole blacke, alter and become after a branded russet, like to the haires of the Sea-wolves. The Saltpeter breaketh out of their shoulders, in such sort, that they seeme to bee a kinde of monsters in the shape of men, or else some other kinde of men. They dispatched in ridding about this insupportable travell, or rather to speake

rightly, this devilish torment, all the Lucayan Indians which were in the Iles, having savoured this gaines, and every Indian was worth unto them a fiftie, or an hundred Castillans. They made an open Mart of them, notwithstanding it were inhibited them, by the Magistrate otherwise unmercifull: for the Lucayens were good swimmers. They also, about these things have slaine a number of the people of other Provinces.

Of the River Yuia pari.

THere runneth through the Province of Paria, a River named Yuia Pari, more then two hundred leagues within land from the head. There entred the same River, an unlucky tyrant, a great many leagues upward, in the yeere 1529. with foure hundred men, or more: which there wrought great slaughters, burning alive, and putting to the edge of the sword, an infinite sort of Indians, which were in their lands and houses, doing hurt to no creature, and therefore secure, and mistrusting nothing.

In the end hee died an evill death, and his Navie was disparaged: albeit that other tyrants there were which succeeded him in his mischievousnesses and tyrannies: and yet at this day thither they goe, destroying, and slaying, and plunging into Hell the soules for whom the Sonne of God shed his bloud.

Of the Realme of Venesuela.

THe yeere 1526. the King our Soveraigne, being induced by sinister informations and perswasions damageable to the State, as the Spaniards have alwaies pained themselves to conceale from his Majestie the damages and dishonours which God and the soules of men, and his State doeth receive in the Indies: granted and committed a great Realme, greater then all Spaine (Venesuela, with the government and entire jurisdiction) unto certaine Dutch Merchants, with certaine capitulations and conventions accorded betweene them.

These same entring the Countrey with three hundred

men: they found the people very amiable, and meeke as Lambes, as they are all in those parts of the Indies, untill the Spanish doe outrage them. These set upon them without comparison a great deale more cruelly, then any of the other tyrants, of the which wee have spoken before: shewing themselves more unnaturall and fierce, then raging Tigres, or Wolves, or ramping Lions. These have layd desolate and destroyed more then foure hundred leagues of most fertile land, and therein of Provinces exceeding and wonderfull, faire Valleyes to the breadth of forty leagues, and Bournes very great, full of people and of Gold. They have slaine, and wholly discomfited great and divers Nations, so farre forth as to abolish the Languages wonted to bee spoken, not leaving alive that could skill of them: unlesse some one or other, who had hid themselves in the caves and bowels of the earth, fleeing the dint of the sword, so raging and plaguing. They have slaine destroyed, and sent to Hell by divers and strange manners of cruelties and ungodlinesses, more (I suppose) then foure or five millions of soules: and yet at this present they ceasse not to doe the same by infinite outrages, spoyles and slaughters, which they have committed, and doe commit daily unto this present.

Foure or five millions slaine in Venesuela.

They tooke the Lord Soveraigne of all the Province, without all cause, onely to bereave him of his Gold, giving him also the torture: which Lord unbound himselfe, and escaped from them into the Mountaines, wherefore also the Subjects rose, and were in a mutinie, hiding themselves upon the Mountaines, amongst the hedges and bushes. The Spaniards make after to chase them, and having found them, commit cruell massacres, and as many as they take alive, they sell them in port sale for slaves. In divers Provinces, yea in all where they became before that they tooke the Soveraigne Lord, the Indians went to receive them with songs, and dances, and with presents of Gold in great quantitie. The payment made them, was, to bee put to the edge of the sword, and hewen in pieces. One time, as they went to receive the Spanish in the fashion

abovesaid: the Dutch Captaine tyrant caused to bee put in a thatched house a great number of people, and hakled in pieces. And being on high, neere the top of the house, certaine beames, which divers had got upon, avoyding the bloudy hands and swords of those people (O mercilesse beasts) the devilish man, sent to put to fire, whereby as many as there were, were burned alive. By this meanes the Countrie remayned very desart, the people fleeing into the Mountaines, where they hoped to save themselves.

[IV. viii. 1588.]

They came into another great Province, in the confines of the Province and Realme of Saint Martha, where they found the Indians peaceable in their Burroughs, and in their houses, doing their businesse: they continued a long time with them, eating their store, and the Indians served them, as if they had to receive of them their life and safeguard, supporting their continuall oppressions, and usuall outragiousnesses, which are intolerable: besides that one Spanish glutton, eateth more in one day, then would suffice an whole houshold of more then ten Indians. They gave them at that time, a great quantitie of Gold, of their owne good-will, over and besides, other services innumerable, which they did unto them. At the end as these tyrants would depart the place, they advised to pay them for their lodging, in this manner.

The Almaine tyrant Governour, commanded to take such Indians as they could, with their wives and children, and that they should shut them up within an inclosure, letting them know, that who so would come forth, and be let goe free, that he should redeeme himselfe at the pleasure of the unjust Governour: in giving so much Gold for himselfe, so much for his wife, and so much for every poll of his children. And yet to presse them the more, he commanded to give them nothing to eate, untill such time as they had performed the quantitie of Gold inflicted them for their ransome. Many sent to their houses for Gold, and bought out themselves as they were able, and those same were delivered, and went abroad about their businesse to get their living. The tyrant

sent certaine Spanish thieves and robbers, to goe take them againe the second time, after they had beene redeemed. They are carried to the perclose, and there wrung with hunger and thirst, to the end, that they should yet once againe pay for their freedome. And there were many amongst them, which were taken and ransomed two or three sundry times. Others which had not to give, for because they had all they had, hee let them within the toyle die for hunger. And in this manner hath beene destroyed a Province very rich of people and gold, the which hath a Vale or Bourne of fourtie leagues, where hath beene brent a Burrough of the receit of a thousand housholds.

This Tyrant resolved with himselfe to pierce farther into the Countrey, with a great desire to discover on that side, that Hill of Peru. By occasion of which accursed Voyage both hee and others carried forth with them, Indians infinite, loden with two or three quintals weight, and being enchained. If any were weake and weary, fainting for hunger, or travelling, they cut incontinent his head off even with the collar of the chaine that yoked them: because they should not need to unhamper the others that went with the same collars about their neckes, and so tumbled the head on the one side, and the body on the other. And the lode of him that had so fayled was distributed and bestowed upon others. To tell of the Provinces, which hee hath layed desart, and the Townes and places which hee hath brent, for all the houses are thatched, and to number the Nations which hee hath slaine, and the cruelties, and murders particular, which hee had committed by the way, it would bee a thing scarse credible: howbeit very true and wonderfull. In this same very course and steppes marched sithence the other tyrants, who came from the said Venesuela, and others of the Province of Saint Martha, with the selfe same holy intention to discover the same sacred golden Palace of Peru: and found the whole Countrie in length more then two hundred leagues so burned, dispeopled, and

spoyled, having beene before most notably peopled, and most fertile, as hath beene said, that themselves as very tyrants and savage beasts as they were, wondered and stood astonished to see the trackes of the destructions so lamentable, wheresoever he had passed.

All these things have beene given in evidence with the depositions of many witnesses by the Attorney of the Councell of the Indies, and the evidences are kept amongst the Records of the same Councell: and yet have they never burnt alive, any of those execrable tyrants. Those Provinces of Venesuela with the others which they have laid waste, and dispeopled more then foure hundred leagues forthright, as hath beene said, is a region the most blissefull, and the richest of Gold, and was the best peopled of any in the world: in such sort, that they have disturned from the Kings Coffers, and occasioned the losse in this Realme of above two millions of rent, within seventeene yeeres sithence by past, that these enemies of God and the King have begunne to destroy it: neither is there any hope that ever those losses will be repaired.

These seventeene yeeres they have sent by Sea a great number of ships loden and stuffed with Indians, to make sale of them as slaves at Saint Martha, at the Iles of Hispaniola, and of Jamayca, and at Saint Johns Ile, moe then one million: and doe send daily, as now this yeere 1542. the Court of the Audience Royall notwithstanding established, for, and at Hispaniola, right well seeing all this, and dissimuling to see it, yea, favouring and supporting all the matter: as likewise they have had their eyes blinded at all the other tyrannies and ransackings infinite, which have beene done in all this coast of the Firme land which are about foure hundred leagues, the which have beene and now are under their jurisdiction, like unto Venesuela, and Saint Martha: all which the said Court might very well have empeached and remedied.

A million of slaves.

Of the Provinces of the firme land, or quarter that is called Florida. [IV. viii. 1589.]

INto these Provinces went three tyrants at three divers times since the yeere 1510. or 1511. there to put in ure the acts which others, and two of them from among themselves have committed in other quarters of the Indians: to the end to aspire to high degrees, in no respect convenient to their persons, higher then their merits in the Common-wealth could conceive, with the bloud and destruction of their neighbours: and they are dead all three of an evill death, and their houses likewise have beene destroyed with them, the which they had builded in times past, with the bloud of mankind, as I can be a sufficient witnesse of all three, and their memory is now abolished from of the face of the earth, as if they had never beene in this world.

Juan Ponce de Leon with 80. *men were all lost there. After him Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon with* 220. *Pamphilo de Narvaez with* 400. *And fourthly Ferdinando de Soto with* 1000. *as some say, and they which say least,* 600. *entred Florida, whose stories you have before. Of Soto was no newes An.* 1542. *when this was written. See before in Schmidet.*

The fourth tyrant, that came last in the yeere 1538. cunningly advised, and being fully furnished: it is three yeeres since there is no tidings concerning him. Sure he is one of the notoriousest and best experimented amongst them that have done the most hurts, mischieves, and destructions in my Realmes with their consorts: wherefore I beleeve that God hath given him like end unto the others.

Of the River of La Plata, that is to say, Of Silver.

SIthence the yeere, one thousand five hundred, and two or three and twenty: certaine Captaines made three or foure Voyages up the River of Plata, where there are great Provinces and Realmes, and Nations well ordered and endued with understanding. In generall wee understood, that they have made there great butcheries and invasions: but like as this Countrey is farre discoasted from the Indies most famous, so we are not able, to quote the notablest points in particular.

Of the mighty Realmes, and large Provinces of Peru.

IN the yeere 1531. went another great tyrant with certaine other consorts, to the Realmes of Peru, where entring with the same title and intention, and with the same proceedings as all the rest before gone, forasmuch as he was one of them, which had of long time beene exercised in all kindes of cruelties and murders, which had beene wrought in the firme land, sithence the yeere 1510. hee tooke encouragement to accrue in cruelties, murders, and robberies: being a man without loyaltie and truth, laying waste Cities and Countries, bringing them to nought, and utterly undoing them by slaying the Inhabitants, and being the cause of all the evils, which ensued in that Countrie.

He slue and laid waste at his first arrivall with a mischife certaine boroughes, from whom he pillaged a great quantitie of Gold. In an Iland neere to the same Provinces, named Pagna, well peopled and pleasant, the Lord thereof with his people received them as it had beene Angels from heaven: and six moneths after, when as the Spanish had eaten up all their provision: They discovered also unto them the corne which they kept under ground, for themselves, their wives, and their children, against a dry time and barren: making them offer of all, with trees plentifull to spend and eate at their pleasure. The recompence in the end which they made them, was to put to the edge of the Sword and Lance, a great quantitie of those people. And those whom they could take alive, they made slaves: with other cruelties great and notable which they committed, dispeopled as it were all that Ile.

From thence they make to the Province of Tumbala, which is in the firme land, where they slay and destroy as many as they could come by. And because all the people were fled as affrighted by their horrible acts, they said that they made an insurrection, and rebelled against

the King of Spaine. This tyrant had this policie, and kept this order of proceeding, that unto all those whom he tooke, or unto others which presented him with Gold and Silver, or other things which they had: he commanded them to bring more, untill such time as he perceived that either they had no more, or that they brought him no more. And then he would say, that he accepted them for the vassals and lieges of the King of Spaine, and made much of them: and would cause it to be proclaimed at sound of two Trumpets, that from thenceforth they would take them no more, and that they would doe them no manner harme at all: setting it downe for good and lawfull, all whatsoever he had robbed from them.

A few dayes after the King and Emperour of those Realmes, named Atabaliba, came accompanied with a number of naked people, bearing their ridiculous armour, not knowing neither how Swords did carve, nor Speares did pierce, nor Horses did run, nor who or what were the Spaniards. Hee commeth to the place where they were, saying: Where are these Spaniards? Let them come, I will not stirre a foote, till they satisfie me for my Subjects whom they have slaine, and my boroughs which they have dispeopled, and for my wealth, which they have bereaved me.

The Spaniards set against him, and slew an infinite sort of his people: they tooke him also in person, who came carried in a Litter borne upon mens shoulders. They treate with him, to the end that he should ransome himselfe. The King offereth to performe foure millions of Castillans, and performeth fifteene, they promise to release him: notwithstanding in the end, keeping nor faith nor truth (as they never kept any in the Indies, unto the Indians) they laid to his charge altogether untruely, that by his commandement the people assembled. The King answered, that in all the Countrie there moved not a leafe of a tree, without his good will: that if there assembled any people, they were to beleeve that it was by his com- [IV. viii. 1590.]

Fifteene Millions paid for Atabalipas ransome.

mandement, and as touching himselfe that he was prisoner, and they might slay him.

All this notwithstanding, they condemned him to be burnt alive: but at the request of some certaine, the Captaine caused him to be strangled: and being strangled, hee was burned. This King understanding his sentence, said: Wherefore will you burne me? What trespasse have I done yee? Did not you promise me to set me at libertie, if I gave you the Gold? And have I not performed more then I promised? Seeing you needes will have it so, send me to your King of Spaine: speaking other things, to the great confusion and detestation of the great wrongfulnesse that the Spaniards used, whom in the end they burned. Here let be considered the right and title of this warfare, the imprisonment of this Prince, the sentence, and the execution of his death, and the conscience, whereby they possesse great treasures, as indeede they have robbed in those Realmes from this King and other severall Lords infinite.

As touching the innumerable cruelties, and notable, for the mischiefes and enormities withall committed in the rooting out of those peoples by them, who call themselves Christians: I will here rehearse some certaine, the which a Frier of Saint Francis order saw at the beginning, and the same certified under his name and signe: sending them into all those quarters, and amongst others into this Realme of Castile, whereof I retaine a Copie in my keeping, in the which it is thus written:

Testimony of Frier Marke touching Pizarro and the Spaniards which first entred Peru.

I Frier Marke, of the order of Saint Francis, commissarie over the other Friors of the same Order in the Provinces of Peru, and who was one of the first religious men, which entred into the said Provinces with the Spaniards: doe say, bearing true testimonie of certaine things, the which I have seene with mine eyes in that Countrie, namely, concerning the entreatie and conquests made over the naturall inhabitants of the Countrie: first of all I am an eye witnesse, and have certaine knowledge, that those Indians of Peru, are a people the most kinde

hearted that hath beene seene among all the Indians, being courteous in conversation, and friendly unto the Spaniards. And I saw them give to the Spanish in abundance, Gold, Silver, precious stones, and all that was asked them, and that they had, doing them all kinde of service lawfull. And the Indians never yeelded forth to warre, but kept them in peace so long time, as they gave them not occasion, by their evill entreating of them and their cruelties, but contrariwise received them with all amitie and honour in their boroughes, in giving them to eate, and as many slaves mankinde and womenkinde, as they demanded for their service.

Item, I am witnesse, that without that the Indians gave occasion: the Spanish as soone as they were entred the land, after that the great Cacique Atabalipa, had given to the Spanish more then two millions of Gold, and had put into their power the whole Countrie without resistance, incontinent they burned the said Atabalipa, which was Lord of the whole Countrie. And after him they burnt his captaine generall Cochilimaca, who had come to the Governour in peace with other Lords. In the like manner also a few dayes after they burned a great Lord named Chamba, of the Province of Quito, without any fault at all, and without having given the least occasion that might be. In like manner they burned unjustly Schappera Lord of the Canaries.* Also they burnt the feete of Alvis a great Lord amongst all those which were in Quito, and caused him to endure sundry other torments, to make him tell where was the Gold of Atabalipa: of the which treasure, as it appeared, he knew nothing.

**A people of those parts, good warriors, not of the Canary Ilands.*

Also they burnt in Quito Cosopanga, who was Governour of all the Provinces of Quito, which upon the request to him first made by Sebastian of Bernalcasar, Captaine under the Governour, was come to them in peace: and onely because he gave them not Gold so much as he demanded of him, they burned him with very many other Caciques and principall Lords. And for ought that I can understand, the intent of the Spaniards was, that

there should not be left alive one Lord in the whole Countrey.

Item, I certifie, that the Spaniards caused to assemble a great number of Indians, and locked them up in three great houses, as many as could be pored in, and setting to fire, they burned them all, without that they had done the least thing that might be, or had given to the Spanish the least occasion thereof whatsoever. And it came to passe, that a Priest, who is named Ocanna, drew a yong Boy out of the fire, in the which he burned, which perceiving, another Spaniard tooke from out of his hands the Boy, and flung him into the middest of the flames, where he was resolved into ashes together with others. The which Spaniard returning the same day to the Campe, fell downe dead suddenly, and mine advice was, he should not be buried.

Item, I affirme, to have seene with mine owne eyes, that the Spanish have cut the hands, the noses, and the eares of the Indians, and of their women, without any other cause or purpose, save onely that so it came into their fantasie, and that in so many places and quarters, that it should be too tedious to rehearse. And I have seene, that the Spanish have made their Mastives runne upon the Indians to rent them in pieces. And moreover, I have seene by them burnt so many houses, and whole boroughes, or townships, that I am not able to tell the number. Also it is true, that they violently plucked the little infants from the Mothers dugges, and taking them by the armes, did throw them from them as farre as they could: Together with other enormities and cruelties without any cause, which gave me astonishment to behold them, and would be too long to rehearse them.

[IV. viii. 1591.]

Item, I saw when they sent for the Caciques and other principall Indians, to come see them in peace, and assurance to them made, promising them safe conduct: and incontinent as they were arrived, they burned them. They burned two whiles I was present, the one in Andon, and the other in Tumbala: and I could never prevaile

with them to have them delivered from burning, preached I unto them never so much. And in God and my conscience, for ought that ever I could perceive, the Indians of Peru, never lift themselves up, nor never rebelled for any other cause, but for the evill entreating of the other side, as is manifest unto every one, and for just cause: the Spaniards destroying them tyrannously against all reason and justice, with all their Countrie, working upon them so many outrages, that they were determined to die, rather then to suffer much another time. Item, I say, that by the report of the Indians themselves, there is yet more Gold hidden then is come to light, the which because of the unjustices and cruelties of the Spaniards, they would not discover, neither ever will discover, so long as they shall be so evill entreated, but will choose rather to dye with their fellowes. Wherein God our Lord hath beene highly trespassed against, and the Kings Majestie evill served, having beene defrauded in that, that his highnesse hath lost such a Countrie, as hath beene able to yeelde sustenance to all Castile: for the recoverie of which Countrie, it will be a matter of great difficultie, dispence, and charges.

Bishop of Mexicos testimony.

All these hitherto are the formall words of the said religious person: the which are also ratified by the Bishop of Mexico, which witnesseth that the reverend Father hath to his knowledge affirmed all the above said. It is here to be considered, that the good Father saith, that he saw those things. For that, that he hath beene fiftie or an hundred leagues up into the Countrie, for the space of nine or ten yeares, and at the very beginning, when there were not as yet but very few of the Spaniards: but at the ringing of the Gold, there were quickely gathered and flocked thither foure or five thousand, which shed themselves forth over many great Realmes and Provinces, more then five hundred or sixe hundred leagues, the which Countrey hath beene throughly destroyed, they executing still the selfe same practises, and others more barbarous and cruell.

Of a veritie, from that day unto this present, there hath beene destroyed and brought to desolation moe soules then he hath counted: and they have with lesse reverence of God or the King, and with lesse pittie then before, abolished a great part of the linage of mankinde. They have slaine unto this day in these same Realmes (and yet daily they doe slay them) moe then foure Millions of soules. Certaine dayes passed, they pricked in shooting with darts of reedes to death a mightie Queene, wife of Eling, who is yet King of that Realme, whom the Spaniards by laying hands upon him compelled to rebell, and in rebellion he persisteth. They tooke the Queene his wife, and so as hath beene said, slue her against all reason and justice, being great with childe as she was, as it was said onely to vexe her husband withall.

Foure Millions slaine in Peru, &c.

Of the new Realme of Granado.

WIthin the yeare 1539. there tooke their flight together sundry tyrants, flocking from Venesuela, from Saint Martha, and from Carthagene, to search for the Perous: and there were also others which came downe from Peru it selfe to assay, to make a glade farther into the Countrie: And they found from beyond Saint Marthas and Carthagene three hundred leagues up into the Countrie, fertile lands, and admirable Provinces, full of infinite people, kinde hearted like the rest, and very rich, as well of Gold as of precious stones, which they call Emeralds. Unto the which Provinces they gave the name of New Granado: for because that the tyrant which came first into this Countrey, was a Granadan, borne in our Countrey. A Governour, for as much as he which robbed and slew in the new Realme of Granado, would not admit him for consort with him to rob and slay as did he: he procured an enquirie, and thereby evidence came in against him with sundry witnesses upon the fact of his slaughters, disorders, and murders which he had done, and doth as yet unto this day, the processe of which

enquirie, together with the evidences was read, and is kept in the Records of the Counsell of the Indies.

The witnesses doe depose in the same enquirie, that the said whole Realme was in peace, the Indians serving the Spaniards, giving them to eate of their labour, and labouring continually, and manuring the ground, and bringing them much Gold and precious stones, such as are Emeralds, and all that which they could or had: the Townes, and the Lordships, and the people being distributed amongst the Spaniards every one his share: which is all that they studie for, for that, that it is their meane way to attaine to their last end and scope, to wit, Gold. And all being subdued to their tyrannie and accustomed bondage, the tyrant the principall Captaine which commanded over that Countrey, tooke the Lord and King of the Countrey, and detained him prisoner six or seven moneths, exacting of him Gold and Emeralds without cause or reason at all. The said King, who was named Bogata, for feare which they put him in, said that hee would give them an house full of Gold: hoping that he should escape out of the hands of him which tormented him. And he sent Indians which should bring him Gold, and by times one after another, they brought in a great quantitie of Gold and precious stones. But because the King did not give an whole house full of Gold, the Spaniards bid kill him: sithence that he did not accomplish that which he had promised. [IV. viii. 1592.]

King Bugata sentenced, executed.

The tyrant commanding that this King should be arraigned before himselfe: They sommon and accuse in this order the greatest King of all that Countrie, and the tyrant giveth sentence, condemning him to be racked and tormented, if he doe not furnish forth the house full of Gold. They give him the torture and the strapado with cords; they fling burning sewet upon his naked belly; they lay on bolts upon his feete, which were fastened to one stake, and gird his necke fast unto another stake, two men holding both his hands, and so they set fire unto his feete: and the tyrant comming up and downe now and

then, willeth him to have his death given him by little and little, if he made not ready the Gold. Thus they dispatched and did to death that Noble Lord in those torments, during the execution whereof, God manifested by a signe, that those cruelties displeased him, in consuming with fire all the towne where they were committed. All the Spaniards to the end to follow their good Captaine, and having none other thing to doe, but to hackle in peeces those poore innocents doe the like, tormenting with divers and savage torments every Indian, both Cacique or Lord of every people or peoples, with all their flockes, that were committed to their charges: those said Lords with all their subjects serving them, and giving them Gold and Emeraulds as many as they could, and as much as they had: Tormenting them onely to the end they should give them more Gold, and rich Minerals: thus they broyled and dispatched all the Lords of that Countrie.

For the great feare of the notorious cruelties that one of the pettie tyrants did unto the Indians, there transported himselfe unto the Mountaines, in flying so great crueltie, a great Lord named Daytama, with many of his people. For this they hold for their last remedy and refuge, if it might have prevailed them ought: and this the Spaniards call insurrection and rebellion. Which the Captaine head tyrant having knowledge of, he sendeth supplie of Souldiers unto the said cruell man (for whose cruelties sake, the Indians that were peaceable, and had endured great tyrannies and mischiefes, were now gone into the Mountaines) to the end he should pursue them. Who, because it sufficeth not to hide them in the entrals of the earth, finding there a great multitude of people, slue and dispatched them, above five hundred soules, what men, what women, for they received none to mercy. Also the witnesses depose, that the said Lord Daytama, before that the Spaniards put him to death, came to the cruell man, and brought him foure or five thousand Castillans, the which notwithstanding he was murdered as abovesaid.

Another time many Indians being come to serve the Spaniards, and serving them with humilitie and simplicitie, as they are accustomed to doe, reputing themselves assured: behold the Captaine of the towne where they served, who commeth by night, commanding that those Indians should be put to the edge of the sword, when they had supped, and whiles that they were a sleepe, taking their rest after the toyle which they sustained the day time. And this he did, for that it seemed him necessary to doe this massacre, to the end to engrave an awe of himself in the hearts of all the peoples of that Countrie.

Another time the Captaine commanded to take an oathe of the Spaniards, to wit, how many every one had in his service of the Caciques, and principall Lords, and Indians of the meaner sort; that incontinent they should be brought to the most open place of the Citie, where he commanded that they should be beheaded: thus were there at that time put to death foure or five hundred soules.

Moreover these witnesses depose concerning another of the pettie tyrants, that he had exercised great cruelties in slaying, and chopping off the hands and noses of many persons, aswell men as women, and destroying very much people. Another time the Captaine sent the selfe same cruell man with certaine Spaniards into the Province of Bogata, to be informed by the inhabitants what Lord it was, that was successour unto the chiefe Lord, whom hee had made to die that cruell death in those torments spoken of before: Who running along the Countrie throughout many places, tooke as many Indians as he could come by, And for that he could not learne of them, what he was that succeeded that Lord, he mangled off some hands, he bid cast others, men and women unto hungrie Mastives, who rend them in peeces. And in this manner have beene destroyed very many Indians, and Indesses. One time, at the fourth watch of the night, he went to overrun Caciques or Governours of the land, with many of the

Indians, which were in peace, and held themselves assured (for he had given them his faith, and assurance that they should receive no harme nor damage) upon credit whereof, they were come forth of their holes in the Mountaines, where they had beene hid, to people Plaine, in the which stood their Citie: thus being common without suspition, and trusting the assurance made, he tooke a great number, as well men as women, and commanded to hold out their hands stretched against the ground, and himselfe with a woodknife cut off their hands, telling them that he did on them this chastisement, for that they would not confesse where their new Lord was, which had succeeded in the charge of government of the Realme.

Another time for that the Indians gave him not a coffer full of Gold, that this cruell Captaine required them: he sent men to warre upon them: who cut off the hands and noses of men and women without number. They cast others before their dogs being hunger bitten, and used to the feare of feeding on flesh, the which dispatched and devoured:

Another time the Indians of that Realme perceiving that the Spaniards had burnt three or foure of their principall Lords, they fled for feare up into a Mountaine, from whence they might defend themselves against their enemies so estranged from all humanitie. There were of them by the testimonie of the witnesses foure or five Indians. This above said Captaine sent a great and notable tyrant, which exceeded farre most of those to whom he had given the charge to ransacke and waste, together with a certaine number of Spaniards, to the end that they should chastise the Indian rebels: as they would seeme to make them for that they were fled from a pestilence and slaughter so intollerable. Well, so it is that the Spanish by force prevailed to get up to the Mountaine: for the Indians were naked without weapons. And the Spaniards cryed peace unto the Indians; assuring them, that they would doe them no harme: and that they of their parts should not warre any longer. Streight way

as the Indians stinted from their owne defence, the vile cruell man sent to the Spaniards to take the forts of the Mountaine, and when they should get them to enclose within them the Indians. They set then like unto Tygers and Lyons, upon these lambes so meeke, and put them to the edge of the sword, so long that they were faine to breath and rest themselves. And after having rested a certaine season, the Captaine commanded that they should kill and cast downe from the Mountaine, which was very high, the residue that were alive: which was done. And these witnesses say, that they saw as it were a cloud of Indians cast downe from the Mountaine, to the number by estimation of seven hundred men together, where they fell battered to peeces.

And to atchieve all his great crueltie, they searched all the Indians that were hid amongst the bushes: and he commanded to cut off their heads, at blockes ends; and so they slue them and cast them downe the Mountaines: yet could not he content himselfe with those said things so cruell, but that he would make himselfe a little better knowne, augmenting his horrible sinnes, when as he commanded that all the Indians men and women, which some private persons had taken alive (for every one in those massacres is accustomed to cull out some one or other mankinde and womankinde, to the end to become his servants) should be put into a strawen house, saving and reserving those, which seemed necessary to be employed in their service, and that there should be put to fire: thus were there burned fortie or fiftie. Hee caused the rest to be flong to the carrion dogs, which rend them in peeces, and devoured them.

Another time the selfe same tyrant went to a Citie called Cotta, and tooke there a number of Indians, and caused to be dismembred by his dogges, a fifteene or twenty Lords of the principall, and cut the hands of a great multitude of men and women: which said hands he hanged one by another on a pole, to the end the other Indians might see that which hee had done unto them.

There were so hanged one by another threescore and ten paire of hands. Hee slised off besides from many women and children their noses.

No creature living and reasonable, is able to decipher the mischiefes and cruell dealing of this fellow, enemy of God. For they are without number, never otherwise heard of, nor seene: those, I meane, which hee hath done in the land of Guatimala, and all about where he hath become.

The witnesses say for a surcharge, that the cruell dealings and slaughters which have beene committed, and are yet in the said Realme of New Grenado, by the Captaines themselves in person, and by their consents given unto all the other tyrants, wasters, and weeders of the nature of man, which were in his company, and the which hath laid all the Countrie wilde and waste, are such and so excessive, that if his Majestie doe not take some order therein in some time (albeit that the slaughter and discomfiture of the Indians is done onely to bereave them of their Gold, the which they have none of, for they have surrendred all that which they had) they will in a short time make an end of them so in such sort, that there will be no more Indians to inhabit the land, but that it will remaine in a wildernesse without being manured.

There are other great Provinces, which bound upon the said Realme of new Grenado, which they call Popayin and Cali, and three or foure others, which containe more then five hundred leagues of ground, which they have destroyed and desolated in the same manner, as they have done others, robbing and slaying with torments, and the enormities afore spoken of. For the land is very fertile, and those that come from thence now daily, doe report, that it is a ruefull thing to see so many goodly Townes burned and laid desolate, as they might behold passing up and downe that way: so as there, where there was wont to be in one towne a thousand or two thousand households, they have not found fiftie, and the rest utterly ransacked and dispeopled. And in some quarters they

[IV. viii. 1594.]

have found two or three hundred leagues of Land dispeopled and burned, and great Cities destroyed. And finally, by that, that sithence into the Realmes of Peru, of the Province side of Quito, are entred farre into the Countrey sore and fell tyrants, as farre as to the said Realme of Grenado, and of Popayan, and of Cali, by the coast of Carthagene, and Araba, and other accursed tyrants of Carthagene have gone to assault Quito, and moreover, afterwards of the Rivers side of Saint John, which is on the South side, all the which have met to joyne hands together in this exploit: they have rooted out and dispeopled above sixe hundred leagues of land, with the losse of an infinite of soules, doing still the selfe same to the poore wretches that remaine behinde, howsoever innocent they appeare to be.

After the ends of the slaughters and massacres of the warres, they bring the people into the horrible bondage abovesaid, and give them to the commandement of Devils, to one an hundred Indians, to another three hundred. The commander Devill commandeth, that there come before him an hundred Indians, which incontinent present themselves like Lambes. He causing forty or fifty amongst them to have their heads cut off: sayth unto the other there present, I will serve you of the same sauce, if you doe not me good service, or if so be, that you goe out of my sight without my leave. That for the honour of God, all they that have read this piece of worke, or shall give it a reading, consider now, whether this act, so hideous, fell and unnaturall, doe not exceed all cruelty and iniquitie, that may bee imagined, and whether the Spaniards have any wrong offered them when a man calleth them Divels, and whether were better, to give the Indians to keepe to the Devils in Hell, or the Spaniards which are at the Indies.

After this I will rehearse another devilish part, the which I cannot tell whether it bee lesse cruell and voide of manhood, then are those of savage beasts: that is, that the Spanish which are in the Indies, doe keepe certaine

Dogs most raging, taught and trained wholly to the purpose, to kill and rend in pieces the Indians. That let all those that are true Christians, yea, and also those which are not so, behold, if ever there were the like thing in the whole world: that is, to feed those Dogs, they leade about with them wheresoever they goe a great number of Indians in chaines, as if they were Hogs, and kill them, making a shambles of mans flesh. And the one of them will say to another, Lend mee a quarter of a villaine, to give my Dogs some meate, untill I kill one next, altogether as if one should borrowe a quarter of an Hogge or Mutton. There be others which goe forth a hunting in the morning with their curres, the which being returned to eate, if another aske him: How have yee sped to day? they answere, Very well: for I have killed with my Dogs to day, fifteene or twenty Villacoes. All these diabolicall doings, with others like have beene proved in the suits of Law, that the tyrants have had one of them against another. Is there any case more ougly or unnaturall?

I will here now deport me of this discourse, untill such time, that there come other newes of things, in ungraciousnesse more notorious and remarkable (if it so bee, that there can bee any more grievous) or untill such time as we may returne thither to behold them our selves anew, as we behold them for the space of two and forty yeeres continually with mine owne eyes: protesting in a good conscience before God, that I doe beleeve, and I hold it for certaine, that the damages and losses are so great, with the destructions and overthrowes of Cities, massacres and murders, with the cruelties horrible and ougly, with the ravins, iniquities and robberies, all the which things have beene executed amongst those people, and are yet daily committed in those quarters: that in all the things, which I have spoken and deciphered, as I was able the neerest to the truth: I have not said one of a thousand, of that which hath beene done, and is daily a doing at this present, bee it that you consider the qualitie, or bee it, that yee consider the quantitie.

And to the end that all Christians have the greater compassion of those poore innocents, and that they complaine with me the more their perdition and destruction, and that they detest the greedinesse, loftinesse, and felnesse of the Spanish: that all doe hold it for a most undoubted veritie, with all that hath beene abovesaid, that sithence the first Discoverie of the Indies untill now, the Indians never did harme unto the Spanish in any place wheresoever, untill such time, that they first received wrongs and injuries, being robbed and betrayed: but indeed did repute them to be immortall, supposing them to be descended from Heaven, and they received them for such, untill such time as that they gave it forth manifestly to be knowne by their doings, what they were, and whereto they tended.

What conversions & knowledge of God are in the Indies.

I will adjoyne hereunto this, that from the beginning unto this houre, the Spaniards have had no more care to procure that unto those people should be preached the Faith of Jesus Christ, then as if they had beene Curre dogs, or other beasts: but in lieu thereof, which is much worse, they have forbidden by expresse meanes the religious men to doe it, for because that that seemed unto them an hinderance likely to be, to the getting of their Gold, and these riches which their avarice foreglutted in. And at this day there is no more knowledge of God throughout the Indies, to wit, whether he be of timber, of the aire, or the earth, then there was an hundred yeeres agoe, excepting New Spaine, whither the religious men have gone, which is but a little corner of the Indies: and so are they perished, and doe perish all with Faith, and without Sacraments.

I brother Bartholomew de las Casas or Casaus, religious of the Order of Saint Dominicke, which by the mercy of God am come into this Court of Spaine, to sue that the Hell might bee withdrawen from the Indies, and that these innumerable soules, redeemed by the bloud of Jesus Christ, should not perish for evermore without remedie, but they might know their Creator and be saved: also [IV. viii. 1595.]

for the care and compassion that I have of my Countrey, which is Castile, to the end that God destroy it not for the great sinnes thereof, committed against the Faith and his honour, and against our neighbours: for certaine mens sakes notably zealous of the glory of God, touched with compassion of the afflictions and calamities of others, followers of this Court: howbeit, that I was purposed to doe it, but I could not so soone have done it, because of my continuall occupations, I atchieved this Treatise and Summarie at Valencia, the eight of December, 1542. the force being mounted to the highest type of extremitie, and all the violences, tyrannies, desolations, anguishes, and calamities abovesaid, spred over all the Indies, where there are Spaniards, although they be more cruell in one part then they be in another, and more savage and more abhominable.

Mexico and her confines are lesse evill intreated. In truth, there they cannot execute their outrages openly, for that there and not elsewhere, there is some forme of justice, as slender as it is. For because that there also they kill them with devilish tributes: I am in good hope, that the Emperour and King of Spaine, our liege Soveraigne Lord, Don Charles the fift of that name, who beginneth to have understanding of the mischiefes and treasons that there have beene, and are committed against those poore people, against the will of God, and his owne, (for they have alwaies cunningly concealed the truth from him) will roote out those evils, and take some order for this new world that God hath given him, as unto one that loveth and doeth justice: whose honour and prosperous estate Imperiall, God almightie vouchsafe to blesse with long life, for the benefit of his whole universall Church, and to the salvation of his owne Royall soule. Amen.

After having couched in writing the premisses, I understood of certaine Lawes and Ordinances, which his Majestie hath made about this time at Barcellone, Anno 1542. in the moneth of November, and the yeere following

at Madrill: by the which Ordinances, there is order set downe, as the case them seemeth to require: to the end, to cut off the mischiefes and sins which are committed against God and our neighbours, tending to the utter ruine and perdition of this new world. His Majestie hath made these Lawes, after having holden many assemblies of persons of authoritie, of learning and conscience, and after having had disputations & conferences in Valladolid: and finally with the assent and advise of all those others which have given their advise in writing, and have beene found neerest approching unto the Law of Jesus Christ, and withall free from the corruption and soyle of the treasures robbed from the Indians: the which treasures have soyled the hands, and much more the soules of many, over whom those treasures and avarice have got the masterie, and where hence hath proceeded the blinding, which hath caused so to marre all without remorse. These Lawes being published, the creatures of those tyrants, who then were at the Court, drew out sundry copies thereof (for it grieved them at the hearts: for that it seemed them that thereby there was a doore shut up unto them against their ravine and extortion afore rehearsed) and dispersed them into divers quarters of the Indies. Those which had the charge to robbe, root out, and consume by their tyrannies, (even as they had never kept any good order but rather disorder, such as Lucifer himselfe might have held) as they read those copies before the new Judges might come to execute their charge, knowing it (as it is said, and that very credible) by those who untill this time have suported and maintayned their crimes and outrages, to be likely that such execution should be used of those Lawes: they ranne into a mutinie in such wise, as that when the good Judges were come to doe their duties, they advised with themselves (as those which had lost the feare and love of God) to cast off also all shame, and obedience which they owe to the King, and so tooke unto them the name of open and arrant traitors, behaving themselves as most cruell and gracelesse tyrants: and principally in the

Realme of Peru, where presently this yeere 1442. are committed acts so horrible and frightfull, as never were the like, neither in the Indies, nor in all the world besides, not onely against the Indians, the which all or in a manner all are slaine, all those Regions being dispeopled: but also betwixt themselves by a just judgement of God, who hath permitted that they should be the Butchers one of an other of them. By meanes of the support of this rebellion, none of all the other parts of this new World would obey those Lawes: But under colour of making supplication to his Majesty to the contrary, they have made an insurrection as well as the others. For that it irketh them to leave their estates and goods which they have usurped, and to unbinde the hands of the Indians, whom they detaine in a perpetuall captivitie. And there where they cease to kill with the sword, readily and at the instant, they kill them a little and a little, by personall slaveries, and unjust charges and intolerable. That which the King could not hitherunto let: for because that they all, great and little, rove and robbe, some more, some lesse: some overtly, and some covertly, and under the pretence of serving the King: dishonour God, and robbe the King.

Civill warres in Peru betwixt the Spaniards.

Part of a Letter written by one which saw things mentioned.

[IV. viii. 1596.] HEe gave licence to put them to the Chaine, and in bondage: That which they did: and the Captaine led after him three or foure droves of these persons enchained: and in this doing, he procured not that the Countrey should bee inhabited and peopled (as had beene convenient should have done) but robbing from the Indians all their victuals they had, the inbornes of the Countrey were reduced to such an extremitie, that there were found great numbers dead of famine in the high-wayes. And the Indians comming and going to and fro the coast, laden with the carriage of the Spaniards, hee was the death by these meanes of about ten thousand.

Ten thousand perish.

For not one that arrived at the very coast escaped death: by reason of the excessive heate of the Countrey.

After this, following the same tract and way, by the which John of Ampudia was gone, hee sent the Indians which he had purchased in Quito, a day before him, to the end they should discover the bourges of the Indians, and should pillage them, that when he came with his maynie he might finde his bootie ready. And those Indians were his owne mates: of the which such a one had two hundred, such a one three hundred, and such a one a hundred; according to the baggage that every one of them had: which Indians came to yeeld themselves to their Masters with all that they had robbed.

After that the said Captaine was returned from the coast, hee determined to depart from Quito, and to goe seeke the Captaine John de Ampudia, leaving thereto moe then two hundred of Footmen and Horsemen, amongst whom were a great many Inhabitants of the Citie of Quito. Unto those Inhabitants the Captaine gave licence to carrie with them the Cacikes, that were escheated them in sharing, with as many Indians as they would. That which they did: and Alfonso Sanches Nuita carried forth with him his Cacike, with moe then an hundred Indians besides: and in like manner Peter Cibo, and his Cousin: and they led out more then an hundred and fifty with their wives: and sundry also sped out their children, because that in a manner every one died for hunger. Also Moran Inhabitant of Popayan, carried out moe then two hundred persons. And the like did all the rest, Citizens and Souldiers, every one after his abilitie: the Souldiers craving that they might have licence given them to captive those Indians men and women, which they carried forth: the which was granted them untill the death of the said captives, and those deceased, to take as many more.

When they departed out of the Province of Quito, they carried out moe then sixe thousand Indians, men and women, and of all those there never returned home into their Countrie twenty persons. For they died all through

the great and excessive travell, which they made them indure in those broyling Countries contrary to their nature. It happened at that time, that one Alfonso Sanches, whom the said Captaine sent for Chieftaine over a certaine number of men into a Province there, met with a good company of women, and young boyes laden with victuals: who stayed waiting for them without moving from the place to give them of that which they had, and having so done, the Captaine commanded that they should be put to the sharpe of the sword.

It came to passe also, that at the time that the said Captaine came into the Province of Lili, to a Towne called Palo, neere unto the great River, where hee found the Captaine John de Ampudia, which was gone before to discover, and pacifie the Countrie: the said Ampudia kept a Citie by him provided of a Garrison, in the name of his Majestie, and of the Marques Francis of Pizarro: and had set over them for Governours ordinary, one Petre Solano of Quiennoves, and eight Counsellours, and all the rest of the Countrie was in peace, and shared out amongst them. And as hee knew that the said Captaine was in the said River, hee came to see him, with a great number of the Inhabitants of the Countrie, and peacefull Indians, laden with victuals and fruits. Shortly after also all the neighbour Indians came to see him, bringing him food. There were the Indians of Xamundi, and of Palo, and of Soliman, and of Bolo.

Now because that they brought no Mahis which he would have, he sent a great number of Spaniards with their Indians, to goe search for Mahis: commanding them to bring some wheresoever they found any. So went they to Bolo, and to Palo, and found the Indians men and women in their houses in peace: and the said Spaniards with those that were with them, tooke them, and robbed their Mahis, their Gold, and Coverings, and all that they had, and bound many.

Wherefore, they seeing that the Captaine kept no Faith with them: all the Countrie arose and revolted from the

Spanish, whereof ensued great damage, and God and the Kings Majestie offended: and by this meanes the Countrey remayned dispeopled: for that the Olomas and the Manipos their enemies, which are Mountaine people, and warlike, descended daily to take and robbe them, when they perceived the Citie and places of their abode left destitute. And amongst them hee who was the stronger, did eate up his fellow, for all died for famine. This done, the Captaine came to the Citie of Ampudia, where he was received for Generall. From this place they goe to a Citie called Tukilicui, from whence the Cacike of the place yeelded forth incontinent in peace, a number of Indians going before him. The Captaine demanded Gold of him and of his Indians. The Cacike told him that hee had but a small deale, and that which he had should be given him: and immediatly all beganne to give him all that they had. Whereupon the said Captaine gave unto every of them a ticket, with the name of the said Indian, for a testimoniall that he had given him Gold: affirming that hee which should have never a ticket, should be cast to the Dogges to bee devoured, because he gave him no Gold. Whereupon the Indians for feare that they were put in, gave him all the Gold that they were able: and those which had none fled into the Mountaines and other Townes, for feare to bee slaine. By reason whereof perished a great number of the native Inhabitants of the Countrie. And shortly after, the said Captaine commanded the Cacike to send two Indians to another Citie named Dagna, to will them that they should come in peace, and bring him Gold in abundance. And comming to another Citie, hee sent that night many Spaniards to take the Indians, and namely of Tulilicui. So as they brought the next morrow above an hundred persons: and all those which could beare burdens, they tooke them for themselves, and for their Souldiers, and put them to the chaine, whereof they died all. And the said Captaine gave the little children unto the said Cacike Tulilicui, that hee should eate them: and in truth, the skinnes of those

Cruell famine.

[IV. viii. 1597.]

children are kept in the house of the said Cacike Tulilicui full of ashes: and so departed hee from thence without an Interpreter, and went towards the Provinces of Castile, where hee joyned himselfe unto the Captaine John de Ampudia, who had sent him to discover another way, doing both of them great outrages, and much mischiefe unto the Inhabitants of the Countrie where they became. And the said John de Ampudia came to a Citie, the Cacike and Lord whereof called Bitacur, had caused to make certaine Ditches to defend himselfe, and there fell into the same two Horses, the one of Antonie Rodondos, the other of Marc Marquesis. That of Marcos Marquis died, the other not. For which cause the said Ampudia commanded to take all the Indians men and women that might be: and thereupon tooke and layed together more then an hundred persons, whom they cast alive into those Ditches and slue them, and brent withall more then an hundred houses in the said Citie. And in that manner met in a great Citie, where without summoning (the Indians being at peace, and without any spokesman to goe betweene them) they slue with their Speares a great number of them, making on them mortall warre. And as it is said, soone after they were met, the said Ampudia told the Captaine what he had done in Bitaco, and how he cast so many into the Ditches: and the said Captaine answered, that it was well done, and that he for his part had done as much at the River Bamba, when hee entred the same, which is in the Province of Quito, and that he had flung into the Ditches moe then two hundred persons; and there they stayed warring on all the Countrie. Soone after he entred into the Province of Bitu, or Anzerma: in making cruell warre with fire and bloud till they came as farre as unto the Salt-houses. And from thence he sent Francis Garcia before him to pillage, who made cruell warre on the naturall Inhabitants of the Countrie as he had done before him. The Indians came unto him two and two, making signes, that they demanded peace on the behalfe of the whole Countrie: alledging that they would

affoord him, all that he could reasonably demand, were it Gold, or Women, or Victuals, onely that they would not kill them, as indeed it was a troth. For themselves afterwards confessed it to bee so. But the said Francis Garcia bid them get them packing: telling them moreover, that they were a sort of drunkards, and that hee understood them not, and so returned hee to the place where the said Captaine was, and they made a complot, to overrunne all the Province, making cruell warre on all the Countrie, in spoyling, robbing and slaying all: and with the Souldiers, which hee brought with him, drew thence moe then two thousand soules, and all those died in the chaine. Before departing the place which hee had peopled, they slue more then five hundred persons. And so returned to the Province of Calili. And by the way if any Inde or Indesse, were weary, in such sort, that they could not passe any further, they did incontinently head them, paring it off from the shoulders even with the chaine, to the end not to take the paines to open the locke thereof: and to the end that others which went the same way should not make wise to bee sicke, and by this meanes died they all: and in the high-wayes were left all those people which hee made his purchase of out of Quito, and of Pasto, and of Quilla Cangua, and of Paxa, and of Popayan, and of Lili, and of Cali, and of Anzerma, and a great number of people died. Also immediatly upon their returne to the great Citie, they entred into it, slaying all that they could: taking in that day moe then three hundred persons, &c.

AMong divers the remedies by Friar De las Casas Bishop of the Royal Towne called Chiapa, propounded in the assemblie of sundry Prelates named Parsons, by his Majesties commandement gathered together in the Towne of Valladolid, the yeere of our Lord 1542. for order and reformation to be observed in the Indies: the eighth in order was this ensuing, which consisteth upon twentie reasons and motions.

The eight Remedie, is among all other principall and

most in force, as without which all the rest are to no purpose, for that they all have relation thereunto, as every motion to his proper end, in whatsoever toucheth or is of any importance unto your Majestie, which no man can expresse: in as much as thereupon dependeth at the least the whole losse or preservation of the Indies. And the remedie that I speake of is this, that your Majestie doe determine, decree, command, and solemnely in your soveraigne Courts ordaine by pragmaticall Sanctions and Royall Statutes, that all the Indies as well already subdued, as hereafter to be subdued, may be inserted, reduced, and incorporate into the Royall Crowne of Castile and Leon, to be holden in chiefe of your Majestie as free subjects and vassals, as they are. Likewise that they be not given in commendam unto the Spaniards: but that it stand as an inviolable constitution, determination and Royall Law, that they never, neither at this time, neither hereafter in time to come, may bee alienated or taken from the said Royall Crowne, neither that they be given, commanded, demised in fee farme, by depost, commandement or alienation, either under any other title or manner whatsoever, and be dismembred from the Royall Crowne, for any whatsoever the service or desert of any, either upon any necessitie that may happen, or for any cause or colour whatsoever that may be pretended. For the inviolable observation, or establishment of which Law, your Majestie shall formally sweare by your Faith, and on your Word and Royall Crowne, and by all other sacred things, whereby Christian Princes doe usually sweare, that at no time neither your selfe, neither your successours in these ten Dominions, or in the Indies, so farre as in you shall lie, shall revoke the same: and you shall further set downe in expresse words in your Royall Will and Testament, that this decree be ever kept, maintayned, and upholden: also that so farre as in your selfe or in them shall lie, they shall confirme and continue the same. And for proofe of the necessitie hereof, there bee twenty reasons to be alledged: out of which twenty we

[IV. viii. 1598.]

have drawne and put in writing so many as may seeme to serve to our purpose.

Extract out of the second reason.

The Spaniards through their great avarice and covetousnesse to get, doe not permit any religious persons to enter into their Townes and Holds which they possesse, alledging that they receive double losse by them. One and the principall is, that religious persons doe keepe the Indies occupied when they gather them together to their Sermons, so as in the meane time their worke is omitted, while the Indians being idle, labour not: yea, it hath so fallen out, that the Indians being in the Church at the Sermon, the Spaniard comming in, in the face of al the people, hath taken fifty, or an hundred, or so many as he hath needed to carrie his baggage and stuffe, and such as would not goe, he hath loden with stripes, spurning them forth with his feet, thereby, to the great griefe both of the Indians, and of the religious persons troubling and molesting all that were present, &c.

Out of the third reason.

The Spaniards are charged to instruct the Indians in our holy Catholike Faith: whereupon on a time when we examined John Colmenere of Saint Martha, a fantasticall ignorant, and foolish man, who had gotten a great Towne in commendam, and had a charge of soules, he could not tell how to blesse himselfe: and asking him what doctrine he taught the Indians committed to his charge, he said, he gave them to the Devill: also that it was enough for him to say, Per signim sanctin Cruces. How can the Spaniards that travell to the Indies, how noble or valiant soever they be, have any care of the soules, when the most of them are ignorant of their Creede and ten Commandements, and knowe not the matters pertayning to their owne salvation, neither doe travell to the Indies for any other purpose but to satisfie their owne desires and covetous affections, being for the most part vicious, corrupt, unhonest, and disordinate persons: so as hee that would weigh them in an equall ballance, and compare them with the Indians, should finde the Indians without comparison, more vertuous and holy then them. For the

Indians what Infidels soever they be, doe neverthelesse keepe them to one and their owne wife, as nature and necessitie teacheth, and yet we see some Spaniard have fourteene or more, which Gods Commandements doe forbid. The Indians devoure no mans goods, they doe no man wrong: they doe not vexe, trouble, or slay any, where themselves doe see the Spaniards commit all sinnes, iniquities, and treacheries, that man can commit against all equitie and justice. To be briefe, the Indians doe not beleeve any thing, but doe mocke at all that is shewed them of God, being in truth fully rooted in this opinion of our God, that he is the worst, and most unjust, and the most wicked of all Gods, because he hath such servants: also concerning your Majestie, they thinke you the most unjust and cruell of all Kings, because you doe both send thither and keepe here such evill Subjects, supposing that your Majestie doth feed upon humane flesh and bloud.

Out of the fourth reason. The Spaniards having authoritie to command, or particular interest in the Indies, cannot by reason of their great covetousnesse abstaine from afflicting, troubling, disquieting, vexing, or oppressing the Indians, taking away their goods, lands, wives, or children, and using among them many other kindes of iniquitie, for the which they can have no redresse, sanction, or warrant at your Majesties chiefe Justice, because the Spaniards doe make them afraide: yea sometimes doe kill them, lest they should complaine. They doe night and day mourne after their Gods, thinking them to be better then ours at whom they sustaine such harmes, while contrariwise of their owne they reape there so many commodities: and there is nothing that troubleth them so much as the Christians.

Out of the fifth reason. Wee can shew to your Majestie, that the Spaniards have within eight and thirty or forty yeeres slaine of just accompt, above twelve millions of your Subjects: I will not say how mightily this world of people might have multiplied. This Countrey being the fertilest, whether

for cattell, or mankinde, that is in the world: the soyle being for the most part, more temperate and favourable to humane generation. All these innumerable persons, and all these people have the Spaniards slaine, to the end to beare sway, governe, and command over the rest: and when in unjust warres they have slaine them, then doe they use the rest, who justly have withstood them, in drawing Gold and Silver, yoking them together like beasts, to make them carrie their burdens.

What plague of pestilence, or mortalitie could there have fallen from heaven that had beene able to consume or make waste above 2500. leagues of flat Country, replenished with people, and would not have left either travailer or inhabitant? [IV. viii. 1599.]

Out of the sixth reason.

The Spaniards onely for their temporall commoditie, have blemished the Indies with the greatest infamie, that any man even among the most horrible and villanous persons in the world, could be charged withall, and whereby they have sought to take them out of the degree of mankinde: namely that they were all polluted with the abominable sinne against nature: which is a wretched and false slander. For in all the great Iles, Hispaniola, Saint John, Cuba, and Jamaica: Also in the sixtie Iles of Lucayos, which were inhabited with an infinite number of people, the same was never thought upon; in some other part there is a voice of a few: for whose sakes neverthelesse all that world is not to be condemned. We may say as much of the eating of mans flesh, which likewise those places that I have named are free of; although that in other places they doe it indeede. They be also charged with their Idolatrie. The Spaniards have purposely and effectually hindered the teaching of the Law of God and Jesus Christ: with all other vertues among the Indians, and driven away the Religious persons out of Townes and Fortresses, least they should see and disclose their tyrannies: yea, they have by their evill example, infected and corrupted the Indies, teaching them many odious behaviours and vices, which before they knew not,

as blaspheming the name of Jesus Christ, practising of usurie, lying, and many other abhominations wholly repugnant to their nature.

Out of the seventh reason. The Spaniards doe sucke from the Indians the whole substance of their bodies, because they have nothing else in their houses. They make them spit bloud: They exhibite them to all dangers: They lay upon them sundry and intollerable travailes: and more then all this, They loade them with torments, beatings, and sorrowings: To be briefe, they spoile and consume a thousand manner of wayes.

Out of the eight reason. Besides all that the Indians doe indure in serving and pleasing the Spaniards, there is yet a butcher or cruell hangman, to keepe them in awe appointed in every Towne and place, and is tearmed Estanciero or Calpisque: who hath authoritie to lay his clawes upon them, and to make them labour, and doe what the Lord Commander or chiefe thiefe will. So as if in hell there were no other torment, yet were this incomparable. This hangman whippeth them, he ladeth them with stripes, he basteth them with scalding grease, he afflicteth them with continuall torments and travels, hee forceth and deflloureth their daughters and wives, dishonouring and abusing them: he devoureth their Hens, which are their greatest treasure, not because themselves doe eate them, but that of them they offer presents and service to their greatest Lord and chiefe tyrant: he vexeth them with innumerable other torments and griefes: and least they should complaine of so many injuries and miseries, this tyrant putteth them in feare, saying; that hee will accuse them, and say that he see them commit Idolatry. To be briefe, they must please and content above twenty disordinate and unreasonable persons; so as they have foure Lords and Masters. Your Majestie, their Cacique, him that hath them in commendam, and the Estanciero of whom I last spake, which Estanciero is to them more grievous to beare then a quintall of lead, among which we may also in truth adde all the Mochachos and Moores, that doe serve the Com-

mander and Master, for they all doe molest, oppresse, and rob these poore people.

Out of the tenth reason.

It is greatly to be feared, least God will lay Spaine desolate, even for those horrible sinnes that this Nation hath committed in the Indies, whereof we doe evidently behold the scourge, and all the world doth see and confesse that already it hangeth over our heads, wherewith God doth afflict and shew that he is highly offended in those parts through the great destruction and waste of those Nations, in that of so great treasures have bin transported out of the Indies into Spaine (the like quantitie of Gold and Silver, neither King Salomon, neither any other worldly Prince ever had, saw, or heard of) there is none left, besides that of that that was here before the Indies were discovered, there is now none to be found, no never a whit. Hereof it commeth that things are thrise dearer then they were, the poore that have want doe suffer great miseries: and your Majestie cannot dispatch matters of great importance.

Note.

Out of the eleventh reason.

So long as Lares bare sway and ruled, that was nine yeares, there was no more care of teaching or bringing the Indians to salvation, neither was there any more labor employed, or once thought of to that purpose, then if they had beene Trees, Stones, Dogs, or Cats. He wasted great townes and fortresses, he gave to one Spaniard a hundred Indians, to another fiftie, to another more or lesse, as every man was in liking or favour, and as it pleased him to grant. He gave children, and old men, women with childe, and in childebed, men of countenance and commons, the naturall Lords of the Townes and Countries, he parted them among those to whom hee wished most wealth and commoditie, using in his Letters of command this speech following: To you such a man, are given so many Indians with their Cacique, them to use in their Mines and affaires. So as all, great and small, yong and old, that could stand on their feete, men, women with childe, or in childebed, one or other, travailed and wrought so long as they had any breath in their bodies.

He gave leave to take away married men, and to make them draw Gold, tenne, twenty, thirtie, fortie, or eightie leagues, or farther. The women remained in farme houses and granges, in great labours. So that the man and wife should not see one another in eight or ten moneths or a whole yeare. And at their meeting they were so worne with labour and hunger, that they had no minde of cohabitation, whereby their generation ceased, and their poore children perished, because the mothers through hunger and travaile had no milke wherewith to nourish them: This was a cause that in the Ile of Cuba, one of us being there, there perished in the space of three moneths for hunger 7000. children, some desperate women strangled and killed their owne children, others finding themselves with childe, did eate certaine hearbes thereby to loose their fruit, so that the men died in the Mines, the women perished in the farme houses, their whole generation in a short space decayed, and all the Countrey lay desolate. The said Governour, to the end without release to keepe them in continuall labour, still gave them away, and yet besides their great labors he suffered them rigorously, and very austerely to be misused. For the Spaniards that had them in command, appointed certaine hangmen over them, some in the Mines, whom they tearmed Miniero, others in the Farmes, that were called Estanciero: unnaturall and pittilesse persons that beate them with staves and cords, boxing them, pricking them with needles, and still calling them dogges: neither did they ever shew any signe of humanity or clemencie, but all their dealings did consist of extreame severitie, riot, and bitternesse.

The Governour had also in the Spanish Townes and Forts, certaine of the most honorable and principall persons about him, whom he called Visitors, unto whom also besides their other ordinary portions that he had given them, he gave in respect of their offices one hundred Indians to serve them. These in the Townes were the greatest executioners, as being more cruell then the rest, before whom Athuaziles del camoo brought all such as

had bin taken in this chase. The accuser, he that had them in command, was present, and accused them, saying; This Indian, or those Indians are dogs, and will doe no service, but doe daily run to the Mountaines, there to become loyterers and vagabonds: and therefore required that they might be punished. Then the Visitor with his owne hands bound them to a Pale, and taking a pitched cord, in the Gallies called an Eele, which is as it were an iron rod, gave them so many stripes, and beate them so cruelly, that the bloud running downe divers parts of their bodies, they were left for dead. God is witnesse of the cruelties committed among those lambs.

Throughout the yeare they never knew holiday, neither might be suffered from labour little or much. Besides that during all this toyle, they never had sufficient food, no not of Caçabi. Some there were that through niggardlinesse wanting meate to give them, would send them two or three dayes abroad into the fields and Mountaines, to feede where they might satisfie themselves with such fruite as hang on the trees, and then upon the force of that which they brought in their guts, would force them to labour two or three dayes more without giving them any one morsell to eate. The Governour commanded they should be paid their day wages and expences for any labour or service that they should doe to the Spaniard, and their wages was three blankes every two dayes, which in the yeare amounted to halfe a Castelin. Thus grew they into sickenesse through long and grievous travailes, and that was soone caught among them. When the Spaniards perceived the sickenesse increase, so as there was no profit or service to be looked for at their hands, then would they send them home to their houses, giving them to spend in some thirty, forty, or eightie leagues travaile, some halfe dozen of Radish or Refortes, that is a kinde of navet roote, and a little Caçabi, wherewith the poore men travailed not farre before they should desperately dye, some went two or three leagues, some ten or twenty, so desirous to get to their owne home, there to finish their

hellish life that they suffered, that they even fell downe dead by the wayes; so as many times we found some dead, others at deaths doore, others groning and pittifully to their powers pronouncing this word, hunger, hunger. Then the Governour seeing that the Spaniard had in this wise slaine halfe or two third parts of these Indians, whom hee had given them in command, he came a fresh to draw new lots, and make a new distribution of Indians: still supplying the number of his first gift, and this did hee almost every yeare.

Pedrarias entred into the firme land, as a Wolfe that had long beene starved doth into a flocke of quiet and innocent Sheepe and Lambs: and as Gods wrath and scourge, committing infinite slaughters, robberies, oppressions and cruelties, together with those Spaniards whom he had levied, and laid waste so many Townes and Villages, which before had bin replenished with people, as it were Ant hils, as the like was never seene, heard of, or written by any that in our daies have dealt in Histories. He robbed his Majestie & Subjects with those whom he tooke with him, and the harme that he did amounted to above foure, yea six Millions of Gold: hee laid above fortie leagues of land desart, namely from Darien, where he first arrived, unto the Province of Nicaraga, one of the fruitfullest, richest and best inhabited lands in the world. From this cursed wretch sprang first the pestilence of giving the Indians in command, which afterward hath infected all those Indies where any Spaniards doe inhabit, and by whom all these Nations are consumed; so that from him & his commands have proceeded the certaine waste and desolation that your Majestie have sustained in these so great lands and dominions, since the yeare 1504.

When we shall say that the Spaniards have wasted your Majesties, and laid you desolate seven Kingdomes bigger then Spaine, you must conceive that we have seene them wonderfully peopled, and now there is no body left, because the Spaniards have slaine all the naturall inhabitants

[IV. viii. 1601.]

by meanes aforesaid, and that of the Townes and Houses there remaineth onely the bare wals: even as if Spaine were all dispeopled, and that all the people being dead, there remained onely the wals of Cities, Townes and Castels.

Out of the reason. 13. Your Majestie have not out of all the Indies one marvedy of certaine perpetuall and set rent, but the whole revenewes are as leaves and straw gathered upon the earth, which being once gathered up doe grow no more: even so is all the rent that your Majestie hath in the Indies, vaine and of as small continuance as a blast of winde, and that proceedeth onely of that the Spaniards have had the Indians in their power; and as they doe daily slay and rost the inhabitants, so must it necessarily ensue that your Majesties rights and rents doe wast and diminish.

The Kingdome of Spaine is in great danger to be lost, robbed, oppressed and made desolate by forraigne Nations, namely by the Turkes and Moores, because that God who is the most just, true, and soveraigne King over all the world, is wroth for the great sinnes and offences that the Spaniards have committed throughout the Indies. But had chosen Spaine as his minister and instrument, to illuminate and bring them to his knowledge, and as it had bin for a worldly recompence, besides the eternall reward, had granted her so great naturall riches, and discovered for her such and so great fruitfull and pleasant lands, &c.

In as much as our life is short, I doe take God to witnesse with all the Hierarchies and thrones of Angels, all the Saints of the heavenly court, and all the men in the world; yea, even those that shall hereafter be borne, of the certificate that here I doe exhibite: also of this the discharge of my conscience, namely that if his Majestie granteth to the Spaniards the aforesaid divellish and tyrannous partition, notwithstanding whatsoever lawes or statutes shall be devised, yet will the Indies in short space be laid desart and dispeopled, even as the Ile of Hispaniola is at this present, which otherwise would be most fruitfull and fertile; together with other the Iles & lands above

3000. leagues about, besides Hispaniola it selfe and other lands both farre and neere. And for those sinnes, as the holy Scripture doth very well informe, God will horribly chastize, and peradventure wholly subvert and roote out all Spaine. Anno 1542.

The summe of the disputation betweene Fryer Bartholomew de las Casas or Casaus, and Doctor Sepulueda.

DOctor Sepulueda, the Emperours chronographer, having information, and being perswaded by certaine of those Spaniards, who were most guiltie in the slaughters and wastes committed among the Indian People, wrote a Booke in Latine, in forme of a Dialogue very eloquently, and furnished with all flowers, and precepts of Rhetoricke, as indeede the man is very learned and excellent in the said tongue: which Booke consisted upon two principall conclusions; the one, That the Spaniards warres against the Indians, were as concerning the cause and equitie that moved them thereto, very just: also, that generally the like warre may and ought to be continued. His other conclusion, that the Indians are bound to submit themselves to the Spaniards government, as the foolish to the wise: if they will not yeelde, then that the Spaniards may (as he affirmeth) warre upon them. These are the two causes of the losse and destruction of so infinite numbers of people: also that above 2000. leagues of the maine land, are by sundry new kindes of Spanish cruelties and inhumaine dealings bin left desolate in the Ilands: namely by Conquests and Commands as hee now nameth those which were wont to be called Partitions.

The said Doctor Sepulueda coloureth his Treatise, under the pretence of publishing the title which the Kings of Castile and Leon doe challenge in the government and universall soveraigntie of this Indian world; so seeking to cloake that doctrine which he endevoureth to disperse and scatter as well in these lands, as also through the Kingdomes of the Indians. This Booke he exhibited to

the royall Councell of the Indies, very earnestly and importunately lying upon them for licence to print it, which they sundry times denied him in respect of the offence, dangers, and manifest detriment, that it seemed to bring to the Common-wealth.

The Doctor seeing that here he could not publish his Booke, for that the Counsell of the Indies would not suffer it, he dealt so farre with his friends that followed the Emperours Court, that they got him a Patent, whereby his Majestie directed him to the royall Counsell of Castile, who knew nothing of the Indian affaires: upon the comming of these Letters the Court and Counsell being at Aranda in Duero, the yeare 1547. Fryer Bartholomew de las Casas or Casaus, Bishop of the royall towne of Chiapa, by hap arrived there, comming from the Indians, and having intelligence of Doctor Sepulueda his drifts and devises, had notice also of the Contents of his whole Booke: but understanding the Authors pernicious blindenesse, as also the irrecoverable losses that might ensue upon the printing of this Booke, with might and maine withstood it, discovering and revealing the poyson where- [IV. viii. 1602.]
with it abounded, and whereto it pretended.

The Lords of the Royall Counsaile of Castile, as wise and just Judges, determined therefore to send the said Booke to the Universities of Salamanca and Alcala, the matter being for the most part therein Theologically handled, with commandement to examine it, and if it might bee printed, to signe it: which Universities after many exact and diligent disputations, concluded, that it might not be printed, as contayning corrupt doctrine.

The Doctor not so satisfied, but complaning of the Universities aforesaid, determined, notwithstanding so many denials and repulses at both the Royall Counsailes, to send his Treatise to his friends at Rome, to the end there to print it, having first transformed it into a certaine Apologie written to the Bishop of Segovia, because the same Bishop having perused the Treatie and Booke aforesaid, had brotherly and charitably as his friend by Letters

reprooved and counsailed him. The Emperour understanding of the Impression of the said Booke and Apologie, did immediately dispatch his Letters Patents, for the calling in and suppression of the same, commanding likewise to gather in againe all Copies thereof throughout Castile. For the said Doctour had published also in the Castilian Language a certaine abstract of the said Booke, thereby to make it more common to all the Land: and to the end also that the Commons, and such as understood no Latine, might have some use thereof, as being a matter agreeable and toothsome to such as coveted great riches, and sought wayes to clime to other estates, then either themselves, or their Predecessors could never attaine unto without great cost, labour, and cares, and oftentimes with the losse and destruction of divers.

Which when the Bishop of Chiapa understood, hee determined also to write an Apologie in the vulgar tongue, against the said Doctors summarie in defence of the Indies, therein impugning and undermining his foundations, and answering all reasons, or whatsoever the Doctor could alleage for himselfe, therein displaying and setting before the peoples face the dangers, inconveniences and harmes in the said doctrine contained.

Thus as many things passed on both sides, his Majestie in the yeere 1550. called to Valadolid, an Assembly of learned men, as well Divines as Lawyers, who beeing joyned with the Royall counsaile of the Indies should argue, and among them conclude, whether it were lawfull without breach of Justice, to levie warres, commonly tearmed conquests, against the Inhabitants of those Countries, without any new offence by them committed, their infidelity excepted.

Doctor Sepulueda was summoned to come and say what he could, and being entred the Counsaile Chamber, did at the first Session utter his whole minde. Then was the said Bishop likewise called, who for the space of five dayes, continually did reade his Apologie: but being somewhat long, the Divines and Lawyers there assembled, besought

the Learned and Reverend Father Dominicke Soto his Majesties Confessor, and a Dominican Friar, who was there present, to reduce it into a Summary, and to make so many Copies as there were Lords, that is fourteene, to the end they all having studied upon the matter, might afterward in the feare of God say their mindes.

The said Reverend Father and Master Soto, set downe in the said Summary, the Doctors reasons, with the Bishops answeres to the same. Then had the Doctour at his request a Copie delivered him to answere: out of which Summarie he gathered twelve against himselfe, whereto he made twelve answeres, against which answeres the Bishop framed twelve Replyes.

Doctor Sepulueda his Prologue to the Lords of the Assembly, beganne thus. Most worthy and Noble Lords, sith your Lordships and Graces have as Judges for the space of five or sixe dayes heard the Lord Bishop of Chiapa reade that Booke, whereinto he hath many yeeres laboured to gather all the reasons that either himselfe, or others could invent to prove the conquest of the Indies to be unjust, as seeking first to subdue barbarous Nations before we preach the Gospell unto them, which have beene the usuall course correspondent to the grant made by Pope Alexander the sixt, which all Kings and Nations have hitherto taken and observed: it is meete, and I doe so desire you, that I who take upon me to defend the grant and authority of the Apostolike Sea, together with the equitie and honour of our Kings and Nation, &c.

Note, the Popes Bull is pretended: which, and our answere to it, see To. 1. l. 2. c. 1.

Out of which Replies, here followeth the Abstract of two that stand us insteed. The report is untrue that the Indians did yeerely sacrifice in New Spaine twenty thousand persons: either one hundred or fiftie. For had that beene so, we could not now have found there so much people: and therefore the Tyrants have invented it, thereby to excuse and justifie their Tyrannies: also to detaine so many of the Indians as escaped the oppression and desolation of the first Vintage, in bondage and tyrannie. But we may more truely say, that the Spaniards

during their abode in the Indies, have yeerely sacrificed to their so deerely beloved and reverend Goddesse Covetousnesse more people, then the Indians have done in a hundred yeeres. This doe the Heavens, the Earth, the Elements, and the Starres both testifie and bewaile: the Tyrants, yea, the very Ministers of these mischiefes cannot deny it. For it is evident how greatly these Countries at our first entrie swarmed with people, as also how wee have now laid it waste, and dispeopled the same: wee might even blush for shame, that having given over all feare of God, wee will yet neverthelesse seeke to colour and excuse these our so execrable demeanours: considering that only for getting wealth and riches, we have in fortie five or fortie eight yeeres, wasted and consumed more Land then all Europe, yea and part of Asia, doe in length and breadth containe, robbing and usurping upon that with all crueltie, wrong, and tyrannie, which we have seene well inhabited with humane people, among whom there have beene slaine and destroyed twentie * Millions of soules.

[IV. viii. 1603.]

Twenty Millions destroied; before he saith 12. or 15. Millions, which is to be understood of some greater part, not of all the Indies. Yea, only in New Spaine, Honduras, Guatimala, Venezuela, Peru, and the Coast of Paria, he reckoneth above 20. Millions: besides three Millions in Hispaniola, halfe a Million in the Lucayos, 600000. or rather a Million in Jamaica, and Saint Johns Ilands: 800000. in Terra Firma, in Nicaragua, 550000. that I mention not the innumerable multitudes in Cuba, Panuca, Florida, Xalisco, Yucatan, Saint Martha, Carthagena, New Granado, River of Plata, &c.

In the twelfth and last Reply as followeth, The Spaniards have not entred into India for any desire to exalt Gods honour, or for zeale to Christian Religion, either to favour, and procure the salvation of their Neighbours, no, neither for their Princes service, whereof they doe so vainely bragge: but Covetousnesse hath brought them, and Ambition hath allured them to the perpetuall dominion over the Indies, which they as Tyrants and Devils, doe covet to bee parted among them: and to speake plainly and flatly, doe seeke no other but to expell and drive the Kings of Castile out of all that World, and themselves seizing thereupon, by Tyrannie to usurpe and take upon them all Royall Sovereigntie.

Chap. V.

Notes of Voyages and Plantations of the French in the Northerne America: both in Florida and Canada.

OF the French Plantation in that part of Brasill by Villagaynon, which therefore Frier Thevet called France Antarctike, you have seene alreadie in Lerius. Besides the French have almost from the first beginnings of the Spanish Plantation, with men of warre haunted those Coasts, and taken many Spanish prises. The French have also made other Discoveries, and setled some habitation for a time in the Northerne parts of the New World. *As out of Oviedo, Benza, &c. is before observed.*

John Verrazano a Florentine was sent Anno 1524. by King Francis the first, and Madame Regent his Mother, who is said to have discovered from the eight and twentieth to the fiftieth degree; (all which and much more had long before beene discovered by Sir Sebastian Cabot for the King of England, who was the first that set foote on the American Continent in behalfe of any Christian Prince Anno 1496. or as others 1497. and therefore the French reckoning falleth short, some of which Nation upon Verazanos Discovery challenge I know not what right to all that Coast, and make their New France neere as great as all Europe. To leave that, we are to do them Historicall right in relating their actions in those parts. The Rites and Customes of Florida are related at large by Rene Laudonniere, by Master Hakluyt translated, and in his Workes published. Laudonniere was sent by that famous Admirall Chastillon with John Ribalt, Anno 1562. who arrived at Cape François in Florida in thirtie degrees, and there erected a Pillar with the French Armes. The River they called the River of May, having entred it on May day. In the Woods they found great store of red and white Mulberie Trees, and on their tops an infinite

Sir Seb. Cabot.

Cap. Ribalt.

Silke-wormes store in Florida.

number of Silk-wormes. Eight other Rivers they discovered to which they gave the names of Seine, Somme, Loyre, Cherente, Garonne, Gironde, Belle, Grande, and

Port Royall in 32. degrees.

after that Belle a Voire, and Port Royal. In this last they anchored; the River at the mouth is three French leagues broad: hee sayled up many leagues, and erected another like Pillar of stone. Ribalt having built a Fort and furnished it with provisions, called it Charles Fort, and left a Colonie there under Captaine Albert. These found great kindnesse with their Indian Neighbours, till dissention happened amongst themselves, the Captaine for a small fault hanging a Souldier and exercising severitie over

Mutinie, Cap. Albert slaine.

the rest, which thereupon in a mutinie slue him, and having chosen a new Captaine, they built a Pinnasse and furnished it aswell as they could to returne for France, but surprized in the way with calmes, and expence of their provision, they first did eate their shooes and Buffe Jerkins, and yet continuing famished, they killed one of their fellowes called La Chere, and made cheere of him, and after met with an English Barke which releeved them, and setting some on Land, brought the rest to Queene Elizabeth.

The cause of their not releeving according to promise was the Civill warres, which beeing compounded, the Admirall procured the King to send three ships to Florida under the command of the Author Rene Laudonniere, which set saile in Aprill 1564. He went on shoare at

The Second Colonie.

Dominica, in which Iland his men killed two Serpents nine foote long, and as bigge as a mans legge. The two and twentieth of June, they landed in Florida ten leagues above Cape François, and after in the River of May, where

Stone Pillar worshipped.

the Indians very joyfully welcommed them, and the stone Piller erected by Ribalt was crowned with bayes and baskets of Mill or Maiz set at the foot, and they kissed the same with great reverence. One of Paracoussy (or the King) his Sonnes presented the Captain with a wedge of silver. With another Paracoussy they saw one old

[IV. viii. 1604.]

Father blind with age, but living, and of his loines sixe

generations descended, all present, so that the Sonne of the eldest was supposed two hundred and fiftie yeeres old. They planted themselves on this River of May, and there built a Fort which they called Carolina of their King Charles. Laudonniere sent Outigni his Lieutenant to search out the people called Thimogoa, whence that silver wedge had comne, and there heard of a great King Olata Ovae Utina, to whom fortie Kings were vassals. Saturiova was said to have thirtie, and to be enemie to Utina.

Men nigh 300 yeeres. old.

The Vassals are petty Weroonoes, or Lords of Villages.

A fearefull lightning happened which burned five hundred acres of ground, and all the fowles, after which followed such a heat, that as many fish were dead therewith at the mouth of the River, as would have laden fiftie Carts, and of their putrifaction grievous diseases. The Savages had thought the French had done it with their Ordnance. He got some prisoners of Utinas subjects which Saturiova had taken and sent them to him, some of his men assisting Utina in his warres against Potanou one of his enemies, and returning with some quantitie of Silver and Gold.

Whiles things continued in good termes with the Savages Mutinies and Conspiracies fell out amongst the French, some conspiring to kill the Captaine, others running away with the Barks, one of which robbed by Sea, and after was driven by famine to seeke to the Spaniards at Havana: and when two other Barkes were a building, a third Conspiracie seized on the Captaine, detained him Prisoner, and forced him to subscribe their passe with these two Barkes. Away they went and the next division was amongst themselves, one Barke departing from the others. One of them after divers Piracies came backe, and the chiefe mutinies were executed. Francis Jean one of the other Barke was he which after brought the Spaniards thither to destroy them. The Indians use to keepe in the Woods Januarie, Februarie, and March, and live on what they take in hunting; so that the French neither receiving their expected reliefe from France, nor from the Savages which had no Corne,

Mutinies.

The Virginians also have such a custome.

having before sold them what they had, suffered grievous famine; they resolved to build a vessell able to carrie them into France, the Savages making advantages of their necessities (according to the wonted perfidiousnesse of those wilde people) whereupon they tooke King Utina Prisoner with his Sonne to get food for his ransome. *Cruell famine.* The famine was so sharpe that it made the bones to grow thorow the skinne, and when the Maiz by the end of May came to some ripenesse, food it selfe overcame their weake stomacks. Some reliefe they had by Sir John Hawkins who came thither with foure ships, guided by a man of Deepe which had been there in Ribalts Voyage, who also offered to transport him, and set them all on land in France. This he refused, but made good advantage hereof with the Savages, telling them that this was his brother which brought him great reliefe and plentie, whereupon all sought his friendship. His men at last generally fearing to continue in that misery, wanting both apparell and victuall, and meanes to returne, so wrought with him, that not daring to give the Silver, and such things as he had gotten in the Countrie (which might bring an English Plantation into those parts) he bought a ship of Sir John Hawkins, who partly sold and partly gave them provisions also of apparell and victuall for their returne; and as Laudonniere acknowledgeth like a charitable man, saved their lives.

Sir John Hawkins his great kindnesse.

Third Floridan Voyage by C. Ribalt. Whiles thus they were preparing to set saile, Captaine Ribalt came into the River with seven saile foure greater and three lesse (whom the Admirall had sent, hearing that Laudonniere lorded and domineered in tyrannicall and insolent manner) and was solemnely welcommed in the end of August 1565. A while after, when as the Indians had filled Captaine Ribalt with golden hopes of the Mynes at Apalatci, some proofes whereof were found to be perfect gold, sixe great ships of Spaniards came into the River on the fourth of September, and made faire shew to the French, which trusted them never the more, but let slip their Anchors and fled, being no way matchable but in

Gold Mynes of Apalatci.

swiftnesse of saile, whereby they escaped the pursuite of the Spaniards, and observed their course sending word thereof to Captain Ribalt. The High Admirall Chastillon also had in his last Letters written to Ribalt, that he had intelligence out of Spaine, of Don Pedro Melendes his Expedition to Florida, just before his comming from France, Captaine Ribalt embarkes himselfe the eight of September, pretending to goe seeke the Spaniards, which soone after came to seeke the French at their Fort, guided by Francis Jean, before a Mutiner, now also a Traytour, who shewed the Captaine to the Spaniards. Notwithstanding their assault, Laudonniere made an escape with some others over the Marishes into the ships, and so returned first into England, and after into France. Captaine Ribalt was surprized with a Tempest which wracked him upon the Coast, and all his ships were cast away, himselfe hardly escaping drowning, but not escaping the more then Rockie Spaniards which massacred him and all his companie.

Spaniards kill the French and plant in Florida.

Massacre.

This butcherie was revenged in a fourth Floridan Voyage made from France, by Captaine Gourgues, Anno 1567. who borrowed and sold to set forth three ships, and entring the River Tacatacouru (which the French called Seine) he made league with eight Savage Kings, which had beene much dispighted by the Spaniards, and were growne as dispightfull to them. The Spaniards were accounted foure hundred strong, and had divided themselves into three Forts upon the River of May, the greatest begun by the French; two smaller neerer the Rivers mouth to fortifie each thereof with twelve hundred Souldiers in them well provided for Munition.

Revenge by Cap. Dom. Gourgues.

Three Forts Spanish.

In Aprill 1568. he tooke these two Forts and slue all the Spaniards, the vindicative Savages giving him vehement and eager assistance, especially Olotocara, Nephew to Saturiova. As they went to the Fort, he said, that he should die there, and therefore desired Gourgues to give that to his wife which he would have given himselfe, that it might bee buried with him for his better welcome to the Village of the Soules departed.

[IV. viii. 1605.]

Why the Savages have their goods interred with them.

This Fort was taken, the Spaniards some slaine, others taken, and hanged on the same trees on which the French hung; five of which one of these Spaniards confessed he had hanged, and now acknowledged the Divine Justice. In steed of the Writings which Melendes had hanged over them, I doe not this as to Frenchmen but as to Lutherans; *Just requitall.* Gourgues set up another, I doe not this as to Spaniards or Mariners, but as to Traitors, Robbers and Murtherers. The Forts he razed, not having men to keepe them, and in June following arrived in Rochel. Comming to the King with expectation of reward, the Spanish King had so possesed him, that he was faine to hide himselfe. This Dominicke de Gourgues had beene an old Souldier, once imprisoned, and of a Captaine made a Gally-slave by the Spaniards, and grew for his service in reputation with the Queene of England: he died Anno 1582. And thus much of the French Voyages in Florida, for Virginias sake worthy to be knowne of the English. Now for their more Northerne Voyages and Plantations.

Jaques Cartier his three Voyages. Master Hakluyt hath published the Voyages of Jaques Cartier, who in Aprill 1534. departed from Saint Malo with two ships, and in May arrived at Newfoundland. *Iland of Birds in 49. degrees 40. Minutes.* On the one and twentieth of May they came to the Iland of Birds a league about, so full of Birds as if they were sowed there, and a hundred times as many hovering about it, some as bigge as Jayes, blacke and white with beakes like Crowes, lying alway on the Sea; their wings not bigger then halfe ones hand, which makes that they cannot flie high. In lesse then halfe an houre they filled two Boats with them. These they named Aporatz; another lesse sort, which put themselves under the wings of others greater, they called Godetz, a third, bigger and white, *Margaulx seeme to be Pengwins.* byting like Dogges they called Margaulx. Though the Iland be fourteene leagues from the Continent, Beares come thither to feed on those Birds. One white one as bigge as a Kow they killed in her swimming, and found her good meate. Three such Bird Ilands they also discovered the five and twentieth of June, which they called

the Ilands of Margaulx. There also they found Morses, Beares and Wolves. But these Northerne Coasts are better knowne to our Countrymen: then that I should mention his French names, which from Cabots time almost forty yeeres before had beene knowne to the English.

The next yeere Cartier set forth with three ships to Saint Lawrence his Bay, and so to the River of Hochelaga. They went to Canada, and to the Towne of Hochelaga. They saw the great and swift fall of the River, and were told of three more therein. The Scorbute that Winter killed five and twentie of their men in their Fort: the rest recovered by the use the sap and leaves of a tree called Hameda, which was thought to be Sassafras. These reports of Canada, Saguenay, and Hochelaga, caused King Francis to send him againe, Anno 1540. purposing also to send John Francis de la Roche, Lord of Robewall to be his Lieutenant in the Countries of Canada, Saguenay, and Hochelaga. Hee went Anno 1542. his chiefe Pilot was John Alphonso of Xantoigne, whose Notes, as also the Relation of that Voyage with three shippes, and two hundred persons, men, women and children, Master Hakluyt hath recorded. He built a Fort and wintered there: and then returned.

L. of Robewall.

These were the French beginnings, who have continued their Trading in those parts by yeerly Voyages to that Coast to these times, for fishing, and sometimes for Beavers skinnes and other Commodities. One Savalet is said to have made two and forty Voyages to those parts. Marke Lescarbot hath published a large Booke called Nova Francia, and additions thereto, part of which we have here for better intelligence of those parts, added with Champleins Discoveries.

Savalets 42. Voyages to Newfoundland.

[Chap. VI.

Chap. VI.

The Voyage of Samuel Champlaine of Brouage, made unto Canada in the yeere 1603. dedicated to Charles de Montmorencie, &c. High Admirall of France.

Their Voyage to Tadousac. Chap. 2.

E departed from Honfleur, the fifteenth day of March 1603. This day we put into the Roade of New Haven, because the winde was contrary. The Sunday following being the sixteenth of the said moneth, we set saile to proceed on our Voyage. The seventeenth day following, we had sight of Jersey and Yarnsey, which are Iles betweene the Coast of Normandie and England. The eighteenth of the said moneth, we discovered the Coast of Britaine. The nineteenth, at seven of the clocke at night, we made account that we were thwart of Ushent. The one and twentieth, at seven of clocke in the morning, we met with seven ships of Hollanders, which to our judgement came from the Indies. On Easter day, the thirtieth of the said moneth, wee were encountred with a great storme, which seemed rather to be thunder then winde, which lasted the space of seventeene dayes, but not so great as it was the two first dayes; and during the said time we rather lost way then gained.

[IV. viii. 1606.]

The sixteenth day of Aprill the storme began to cease, and the Sea became more calme then before, to the contentment of all the Company; in such sort as continuing our said course untill the eighteenth of the said moneth, we met with a very high Mountaine of Ice. The morrow after we discried a banke of Ice, which continued above eight leagues in length, with an infinite number of other smaller peeces of Ice, which hindred our passage. And by the judgement of our Pilot, the said flakes or Ice were one hundred, or one hundred & twenty leagues from the Country of Canada; and we were in 45. degrees and two

A banke of Ice above 8. leagues long, in 45. degrees and two third parts.

third parts; & we found passage in 44. deg. The second of May, at eleven of clocke of the day, we came upon The Banke in 44. degrees one third part. The sixt of the said moneth, we came so neere the land that we heard the Sea beate against the shore, but we could not descrie the same through the thicknesse of the fogge, whereunto these coasts are subject; which was the cause that we put farther certaine leagues into the Sea, untill the next day in the morning, when we descried land, the weather being very cleere, which was the Cape of Saint Marie. The twelfth day following we were overtaken with a great flaw of winde, which lasted two dayes. The fifteenth of the said moneth, wee descried the Isles of Saint Peter. The seventeenth following we met with a banke of Ice neere Cape de Raie, sixe leagues in length, which caused us to strike saile all the night, to avoide the danger we might incurre. The next day we set saile, and descried Cape de Raie, and the Isles of Saint Paul, and Cape de Saint Laurence, which is on the South side. And from the said Cape of Saint Laurence unto Cape de Raie, is eighteene leagues, which is the breadth of the entrance of the great Gulfe of Canada.

The Banke in 44. degr. one third part.

These coasts subject to fogs.

The Cape of S. Marie.

The Isles of S. Peter.

A banke of Ice 6. leagues long.

Cape de Raie.

Cape de S. Laurence.

The same day, about ten of the clocke in the morning, we met with another Iland of Ice, which was above eight leagues long. The twentieth of the said moneth, we discried an Isle, which containeth some five and twenty or thirty leagues in length, which is called the Isle of Assumption, which is the entrance of the River of Canada. The next day we descried Gachepe, which is a very high land, and began to enter into the said River of Canada, ranging the South coast unto the River of Mantanne, which is from the said Gachepe sixtie five leagues; from the said River of Mantanue we sailed as farre as the Pike, which is twenty leagues, which is on the South side also: from the said Pike we sailed over the River unto the port of Tadousac, which is fifteene leagues. All these Countries are very high, and barren, yeelding no commoditie. The foure and twentieth of the said moneth

An Iland of Ice about eight leagues long.

The Ile of Assumption.

Gachepe.

The River Mantanne.

The Pike.

Tadousac, from Gachepe 100. *leg.*

we cast anker before Tadousac, and the six and twentieth we entred into the said Port, which is made like to a creeke in the entrance of the River of Saguenay, where there is a very strange currant and tide, for the swiftnesse and depth thereof, where sometimes strong windes do blow, because of the cold which they bring with them; it is thought that the said River is five and forty or fiftie leagues unto the first fall, and it commeth from the North North-west. The said Port of Tadousac is little, wherein there cannot ride above ten or twelve Ships: but there is water enough toward the East, toward the opening of the said River of Sagenay along by a little hill, which is almost cut off from the maine by the Sea: The rest of the Countrie are very high Mountaines, whereon there is little mould, but rockes and sands full of woods of Pines, Cypresses, Fir-trees, Burch, and some other sorts of trees of small price. There is a little Poole neere unto the said Port, enclosed with Mountaines covered with woods. At the entrance of the said Port there are two points, the one on the West side running a league into the Sea, which is called Saint Matthewes point; and the other on the South-east side, containing a quarter of a league, which is called the point of all the Divels. The South and South South-east, and South South-west windes doe strike into the said haven. But from Saint Matthewes Point, to the said Point of all the Divels, is very neere a league: Both these Points are dry at a low water.

The description of the haven of Tadousac. The River of Sagenay falleth into Canada. That of Sagenay is in Lescarbots Map expressed to enter on the North side of Canada, about 51. *or* 40. *from thence to the Sea shoare of Canada is above sixtie miles, which entring into the Sea, hath* 100. *miles, and up to the fals (which Voyage followeth) continueth a marveilous breadth, so that it may be for greatnesse reputed greater then any other River in our world, or in the Northerne parts of the New: full also of Lakes and Ilands for greater magnificence. The great Sagamo, their feasts & wars. The Irocois. Cap.* 2. *Two Savages brought out of France. Anadabijon.*

THe seven and twentieth day we sought the Savages at the Point of Saint Matthew, which is a league from Tadousac, with the two Savages whom Monsieur du Pout brought with him, to make report of that which they had seene in France, and of the good entertainement which the King had given them. As soone as we were landed we went to the Caban of their great Sagamo, which is called Anadabijou, where we found him with

some eightie or a hundred of his companions, which were making Tabagie, that is to say, a Feast. Hee received us very well, according to the custome of the Countrey, and made us sit downe by him, and all the Savages sat along one by another on both sides of the said Cabine. One of the Savages which we had brought with us began to make his Oration, of the good entertainement which the King had given them, and of the good usage that they had received in France, and that they might assure themselves that his said Majestie wished them well, and desired to people their Countrey, and to make peace with their enemies (which are the Irocois) or to send them forces to vanquish them. He also reckoned up the faire Castels, Palaces, Houses, and people which they had seene, and our manner of living. He was heard with so great silence, as more cannot be uttered. Now when he had ended his Oration, the said grand Sagamo Anadabijon, having heard him attentively began to take Tobacco, and gave to the said Monsieur du Pout Grave of Saint Malo, and to mee, and to certaine other Sagamos which were by him: after he had taken store of Tobacco, he began to make his Oration to all, speaking distinctly, resting sometimes a little, and then speaking againe, saying, that doubtlesse they ought to be very glad to have his Majestie for their great friend: they answered all with one voyce, ho, ho, ho, which is to say, yea, yea, yea. He proceeding forward in his speech, said, That he was very well content that his said Majestie should people their Countrey, and make warre against their enemies, and that there was no Nation in the world to which they wished more good, then to the French. In fine, hee gave them all to understand what good and profit they might receive of his said Majestie. When hee had ended his speech, we went out of his Cabine, and they began to make their Tabagie or Feast, which they make with the flesh of Orignac, which is like an Oxe, of Beares, of Seales, and Bevers, which are the most ordinary victuals which they have, & with great store of wilde Fowle. They had eight or

The Oration of one of the savages which we brought with us. [IV. viii. 1607.]

The Irocois enemies to Anadabijon.

The Oration of Anadabijon.

A feast of the Savages.

Orignac a Beast like an Oxe.

ten Kettels full of meate in the middest of the said Cabine, and they were set one from another some six paces, and each one upon a severall fire. The men sat on both sides the house (as I said before) with his dish made of the barke of a tree: and when the meate is sodden, there is one which devideth to every man his part in the same dishes, wherein they feede very filthily, for when their hands be fattie, they rub them on their haire, or else on the haire of their dogs, whereof they have store to hunt with. Before their meate was sodden, one of them rose up, and took a dog, & danced about the said Kettels from the one end of the Cabin to the other: when he came before the great Sagamo, he cast his dog perforce upon the ground, and then all of them with one voice, cried, ho, ho, ho, which being done, he went and sat him downe in his place, then immediately another rose up and did the like, and so they continued untill the meate was sodden. When they had ended their Feast, they began to dance, taking the heads of their enemies in their hands, which hanged upon the wall behinde them; and in signe of joy there is one or two which sing, moderating their voice by the measure of their hands, which they beate upon their knees, then they rest sometimes, and cry, ho, ho, ho; and begin againe to dance, & blow like a man that is out of breath. They made this triumph for a victory which they had gotten of the Irocois, of whom they had slaine some hundred, whose heads they cut off, which they had with them for the ceremony. They were three Nations when they went to war, the Estechemins, Algoumequins, and Mountainers, to the number of a thousand, when they went to war against the Irocois, whom they encountred at the mouth of the River of the said Irocois, and slew an hundred of them. The war which they make is altogether by surprises, for otherwise they would be out of hart; & they feare the said Irocois very much, which are in greater number then the said Mountainers, Estechemins and Algoumequins. The twenty eight day of the said moneth, they encamped

A victorie gotten of the Irocois.

Estechemins, Algoumequins, and Mountainers.

The River of the Irocois.

The Irocois are in great number.

themselves in the foresaid haven of Tadousac, where our Ship was; at the break of day their said great Sagamo came out of his Cabine, going round about all the other Cabins, and cried with a loud voice that they should dislodge to goe to Tadousac, where their good friends were. Immediately every man in a trice tooke down his cabin, and the said grand Captain, first began to take his canoe, & carried it to the Sea, where he embarked his wife and children, & store of furs; and in like manner did well neere two hundred canowes, which goe strangely; for though our Shallop was well manned, yet they went more swift then we. There are but two that row, the man and the wife. Their Canowes are some eight or nine pases long, and a pace, or a pace & a halfe broad in the middest, and grow sharper & sharper toward both the ends. They are very subject to overturning, if one know not how to guide them; for they are made of the barke of a Birch tree, strengthned within with little circles of wood well & handsomely framed, and are so light, that one man will carry one of them easily; and every Canowe is able to carry the weight of a Pipe: when they would passe over any land to goe to some River where they have busines, they carry them with them. Their Cabins are low, made like Tents, covered with the said barke of a tree, and they leave in the roofe about a foot space uncovered, whereby the light commeth in; and they make many fires right in the midst of their Cabin, where they are sometimes ten housholds together. They lie upon skins one by another, and their dogs with them. They were about a thousand persons, men, women and children. The place of the point of S. Matthew, where they were first lodged, is very pleasant; they were at the bottome of a little hill, which was ful of Fir & Cypresse trees: upon this point there is a little level plot, which discovereth far off, & upon the top of the said hill, there is a Plain, a league long, and halfe a league broad, covered with trees; the soile is very sandy, and is good pasture; all the rest is nothing but Mountains of very bad rocks:

Two hundred Canowes.

The fashion of their Canowes.

Their Cabins made like tents and covered with the barks of trees.

Cypresse trees.

the Sea beateth round about the said hil, which is dry for a large halfe league at a low water.

Their triumphs, humors, famin, superstitions & rites. Chap. 3. [IV. viii. 1608.]

THe ninth day of June the Savages began to make merrie together, and to make their feast, as I have said before, and to dance for the aforesaid victory which they had obtained against their enemies. After they had made good cheere, the Algoumequins, one of the three Nations, went out of their Cabins, and retired themselves apart into a publike place, and caused all their women and girles to sit downe in rankes one by the other, and stood themselves behinde, then singing all in one time, as I have said before. And suddenly all the women and maidens began to cast off their Mantles of skins, and stripped themselves starke naked, shewing their privities, neverthelesse adorned with Matachia, which are paternosters and chaines enterlaced made of the haire of the Porkespicke, which they dye of divers colours. After they had made an end of their songs, they cried all with one voyce, ho, ho, ho; at the same instant all the women and maidens covered themselves with their Mantels, for they lye at their feete, and rest a short while; and then eftsoones beginning againe to sing, they let fall their Mantels as they did before. They goe not out of one place when they dance, and make certaine gestures and motions of the body, first lifting up one foote and then another, stamping upon the ground. While they were dancing of this dance, the Sagamo of the Algoumequins, whose name was Besouat, sat before the said women and virgins, betweene two staves, whereon the heads of their enemies did hang. Sometimes he rose and made a speech, and said to the Mountainers and Estechemains; ye see how we rejoyce for the victory which we have obtained of our enemies, ye must doe the like, that we may be contented: then they all together cried, ho, ho, ho. Assoone as hee was returned to his place, the great Sagamo, and all his companions cast off their Mantels, being starke naked save their privities, which were covered with a

Matachia, or cordons of the haire of the Pork-pike.

Their manner of dancing.

Besouat the Sagamo of the Algoumequins.

little skin, and tooke each of them what they thought good, as Matachias, Hatchets, Swords, Kettels, Fat, Flesh of the Orignac, Seales, in briefe, every one had a present, which they gave the Algoumequins. After all these ceremonies the dance ceased, and the said Algoumequins both men and women carried away their presents to their lodgings. They chose out also two men of each Nation of the best disposition, which they caused to run, and he which was the swiftest in running had a present.

All these people are of a very cheerefull complexion, they laugh for the most part, neverthelesse they are somewhat melancholly. They speake very distinctly, as though they would make themselves well understood, and they stay quickely bethinking themselves a great while, and then they begin their speech againe: they often use this fashion in the middest of their Orations in counsaile, where there are none but the principals, which are the ancients: the women and children are not present. All these people sometimes endure so great extremity, that they are almost constrained to eate one another, through the great colds and snowes; for the Beasts and Fowles whereof they live, retire them selves into more hot climates. I thinke if any would teach them how to live, and to learne to till the ground, and other things, they would learne very well; for I assure you that many of them are of good judgement, and answere very well to the purpose to any thing that a man shall demand of them. They have one naughty qualitie in them, which is, that they are given to revenge, and great lyars, a people to whom you must not give too much credit, but with reason, and standing on your owne guard. They promise much and performe little. They are for the most part a people that have no Law, as farre as I could see and enforme my selfe of the said great Sagamo, who told me, that they constantly beleeve, that there is one God, which hath made all things: And then I said unto him, since they beleeve in one God onely, How is it that he sent them into this world, and from whence came they? he answered me, that after God

These Savages endure great famine.

Their bad qualities.

The beliefe of the Savages.

had made all things, he tooke a number of Arrowes, and stucke them in the ground, from whence men and women grew, which have multiplied in the world untill this present, and had their originall on this fashion. I replied unto him, that this which hee said was false; but that indeede there was one God onely, which had created all things in the earth, and in the heavens: seeing all these things so perfect, without any body to governe this world beneath, he tooke of the slime of the earth, & thereof made Adam, our first Father: As Adam slept, God tooke a rib of the side of Adam, & thereof made Eve, whom he gave him for his companion; and that this was the truth that they and we had our originall after this manner, and not of Arrowes as they beleeved. He said nothing unto me, save, that he beleeved rather that which I said, then that which he told me. I asked him also, whether he beleeved not that there was any other but one God onely? He told me, that their beliefe was, That there was one God, one Sonne, one Mother, and the Sunne, which were foure; yet that God was above them all: but that the Son was good, and the Sunne in the firmament, because of the good that they received of them; but that the Mother was naught, and did eate them, and that the Father was not very good. I shewed him his errour according to our faith, wherein he gave mee some small credit. I demanded of him, whether they had not seene, nor heard say of their ancestors, that God came into the world. He told me, that he had never seene him; but that in old time there were five men which went toward the Sunne setting, which met with God, who asked them, Whither goe ye? They said, we goe to seeke our living: God answered them, you shall finde it here. They went farther, without regarding what God had said unto them: which tooke a stone, and touched two of them with it, which were turned into a stone: And hee said againe unto the other three, Whither goe yee? and they answered as at the first: and God said to them againe, Goe no further, you shall finde it here. And seeing that nothing

They beleeve one God, one Son, one Mother, and the Sunne.

came unto them, they went farther: and God tooke two staves, and touched the two first therewith, which were turned into staves; and the fift staied and would goe no further: And God asked him againe, whither goest thou? I goe to seeke my living: stay and thou shalt finde it. He stayed without going any further, and God gave him meate, and he did eate thereof; after he had well fed, hee returned with other Savages, and told them all the former storie. He told them also, That another time there was a man which had store of Tobacco (which is a kinde of hearbe, whereof they take the smoake.) And that God came to this man, and asked him where his Tobacco pipe was? The man tooke his Tobacco pipe and gave it to God, which tooke Tobacco a great while: after hee had taken store of Tobacco, God broke the said pipe into many peeces: and the man asked him, why hast thou broken my pipe, and seest that I have no more? And God tooke one which hee had, and gave it him, and said unto him; loe here I give thee one, carry it to thy great Sagamo, and charge him to keepe it, and if he keepe it well he shall never want any thing, nor none of his companions. The said man tooke the Tobacco pipe, and gave it to his great Sagamo, which as long as he kept, the Savages wanted nothing in the world. But after that the said Sagamo lost this Tobacco pipe, which was the occasion of great famine, which sometimes they have among them. I asked him whither he beleeved all this? he said yea, and that it was true. This I beleeve is the cause wherefore they say that God is not very good. But I replied and told him, that God was wholly good; and that without doubt this was the Divell that appeared to these men, and that if they would beleeve in God as we doe, they should not want any thing needefull. That the Sunne which they beheld, the Moone and the Starres were created by this great God, which hath made heaven and earth, and they have no power but that which God hath given them. That we beleeve in this great God, who by his goodnesse hath sent us his deare Sonne, which

[IV. viii. 1609.]

Great famine sometimes among the Savages.

being conceived by the holy Ghost, tooke humaine flesh in the Virginall wombe of the Virgin Marie, having bin thirty three yeares on the earth, working infinite miracles, raising up the dead, healing the sicke, casting out Divels, giving sight to the blinde, teaching men the will of God his Father, to serve, honour, and worship him, did shed his bloud, and suffred death and passion for us, and for our sinnes, and redeemed mankinde, and being buried, he rose againe, he descended into hell, and ascended into heaven, where he sitteth at the right hand of God his Father. That this the beleefe of all the Christians, which beleeve in the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost, which neverthelesse are not three Gods, but one onely, and one onely God, and one Trinitie, in the which none is before or after the other, none greater or lesse then another. That the Virgin Mary the Mother of the Sonne of God, and all men and women which have lived in this world, doing the commandements of God, and suffring martyrdome for his name sake, and by the permission of God have wrought miracles, and are Saints in heaven in his Paradise, doe all pray this great divine Majestie for us, to pardon us our faults and our sinnes which we doe against his Law and his Commandements: and so by the prayers of the Saints in heaven, and by our prayers which we make to his divine Majestie, he giveth that which we have neede of, and the Divell hath no power over us, and can doe us no harme: That if they had this beliefe, they should be as we are, and that the Divell should be able to doe them no hurt, and should never want any thing necessary. Then the said Sagamo told me, that he approved that which I said. I asked him what ceremony they used in praying to their God? He told me, that they used none other ceremonies, but that every one praied in his heart as he thought good: This is the cause why I beleeve they have no law among them, neither doe they know how to worship or pray to God, and live for the most part like brute beasts, and I thinke in short space they would be brought to be good Christians,

if their Countrie were planten, which they desire for the most part.

They have among them certaine Savages which they call Pilotova, which speak visibly with the Divell, which telleth them what they must doe, as well for the warre as for other things; and if he should command them to put any enterprise in execution, either to kill a French man, or any other of their Nation, they would immediately obey his commandement. Also they beleeve that all the dreames which they dreame are true: and indeede there are many of them, which say that they have seene and dreamed things which doe happen or shall happen. But to speake truely of these things, they are visions of the Divell, which doth deceive and seduce them. Loe this is all their beliefe that I could learne of them, which is brutish and bestiall. All these people are well proportioned of their bodies, without any deformitie, they are well set, and the women are well shapen, fat and full, of a tawnie colour by abundance of a certaine painting wherewith they rubbe themselves, which maketh them to be of an Olive colour. They are apparelled with skins, one part of their bodies is covered, and the other part uncovered; but in the winter they cover all, for they are clad with good Furres, namely with the skins of Orignac, Otters, Bevers, Lea-boores, Stagges, and Deere, whereof they have store. In the winter when the Snowes are great, they make a kinde of racket which is twice or thrice as bigge as one of ours in France, which they fasten to their feete, and so goe on the Snow without sinking; for otherwise they could not hunt nor travaile in many places. They have also a kinde of Marriage, which is, that when a Maide is foureteene or fifteene yeares old, shee shall have many servants and friends, and she may have carnall company with all those which she liketh, then after five or six yeares, she may take which of them she will for her husband, and so they shall live together all their life time, except that after they have lived a certaine time together and have no children, the man may

Savages which speake with the Divell.

They paint themselves with an Olive colour.

Their apparell of skins.

A device to go on the snow with a Racket.

The marriage of the Savages.

[IV. viii. 1610.]

forsake her and take another wife, saying that his old wife is nothing worth, so that the Maides are more free then the married Women. After they be married they be chaste, and their husbands for the most part are jealous, which give presents to the Father or Parents of the Maide, which they have married: loe this is the ceremonie and fashion which they use in their marriages.

Their burials after the Tartars manner.

Touching their burials, when a man or woman dieth, they make a pit, wherein they put all the goods which they have, as Kettels, Furres, Hatchets, Bowes and Arrowes, Apparell, and other things, and then they put the corps into the grave, and cover it with earth, and set store of great peeces of wood over it, and one stake they set up on end, which they paint with red on the top.

They beleeve the immortality of the soule.

They beleeve the immortality of the Soule, and say that when they be dead they goe into other Countries to rejoyce with their parents and friends.

The River of Saguenay, & his originall. Chap. 4.

THe eleventh day of June, I went some twelve or fifteene leagues up Saguenay, which is a faire River, and of incredible depth; for I beleeve, as farre as I could learne by conference whence it should come, that it is from a very high place, from whence there descendeth a

A violent fall of water.

fall of water with great impetuositie: but the water that proceedeth thereof is not able to make such a River as this; which neverthelesse holdeth not but from the said course of water (where the first fall is) unto the Port of Tadousac, which is the mouth of the said River of Saguenay, in which space are fortie five or fiftie leagues, and it is a good league and a halfe broad at the most, and a quarter of a league where it is narrowest, which causeth a great currant of water. All the Countrie which

A Mountainous Country.

I saw, was nothing but Mountaines, the most part of rockes covered with woods of Fir-trees, Cypresses, and Birch-trees, the soyle very unpleasant, where I found not a league of plaine Countrey, neither on the one side nor on the other. There are certaine hils of Sand and Isles in the said River, which are very high above the water.

In fine, they are very Desarts voide of Beasts and Birds; for I assure you, as I went on hunting through places which seemed most pleasant unto mee, I found nothing at all, but small Birds which are like Nightingales, and Swallowes, which come thither in the Summer; for at other times I thinke there are none, because of the excessive cold which is there; this River commeth from the North-west. They reported unto me, that having passed the first fall, from whence the currant of water commeth, they passe eight other sauts or fals, and then they travaile one dayes journey without finding any, then they passe ten other sauts, and come into a Lake, which they passe in two dayes (every day they travaile at their ease, some twelve or fifteene leagues:) at the end of the Lake there are people lodged: then they enter into three other Rivers, three or foure dayes in each of them; at the end of which Rivers there are two or three kinde of Lakes, where the head of Saguenay beginneth: from the which head or spring, unto the said Port of Tadousac, is ten * dayes journee with their Canowes. On the side of the said Rivers are many lodgings, whither other Nacions come from the North, to trucke with the said Mountainers, for skins of Bevers and Marterns, for other Merchandises, which the French Ships bring to the said Mountainers. The said Savages of the North say, that they see a Sea, which is salt. I hold, if this be so, that it is some gulfe of this our Sea, which disgorgeth it selfe by the North part between the lands; and in very deede it can be nothing else. This is that which I have learned of the River of Saguenay.

The report of the beginning of the River of Saguenay.

A Lake two daies journie long.

Three other Rivers.

Two or three Lakes, wherein the head of Saguenay beginneth.

**That is,* 120. *leagues.*

People of the North.

A salt sea.

ON Wednesday the eighteenth day of June, we departed from Tadousac, to go to the Sault: we passed by an Ile, which is called the Ile du lievre, or the Ile of the Hare, which may be some two leagues from the Land on the North side, and some seven leagues from the said Tadousac, and five leagues from the South Coast. From the Ile of the Hare we ranged the North

Journey to the fall and to certaine Ilands, arrival at Quebec. Chap. 5.

The Isle of the Hare.

Coast about halfe a league, unto a point that runneth into the Sea, where a man must keepe farther off.

The Isle of Filberds.

The said point is within a league of the Ile, which is called the Ile du Coudre, or the Ile of Filberds, which may be some two leagues in length: And from the said Ile to the Land on the North side is a league. The said Ile is somewhat even, and groweth sharpe toward both the ends; on the West end there are Medowes and Points of Rockes which stretch somewhat into the River. The said Ile is somewhat pleasant, by reason of the Woods which environ the same. There is store of Slate, and the soyle is somewhat gravelly: at the end whereof there is a Rocke which stretcheth into the Sea about halfe a league. We passed to the North of the said Ile, which is distant from the Ile of the Hare twelve leagues.

12. *leagues.*

The Thursday following we departed from thence, and anchored at a dangerous nooke on the Northside, where there be certaine Medowes, and a little River, where the Savages lodge sometimes. The said day wee still ranged the Coast on the North, unto a place where wee put backe by reasons of the winds which were contrary unto us, where there were many Rockes and places very dangerous: here we stayed three dayes wayting for faire weather. All this Coast is nothing but Mountaynes as well on the South side as on the North, the most part like the Coast of the River of Saguenay. On Sunday the two and twentieth of the said moneth wee departed to goe to the Ile of Orleans, in the way there are many Iles on the South shoare, which are low and covered with trees, shewing to be very pleasant, contayning (as I was able to judge) some two leagues, and one league, and another halfe a league. About these Iles are nothing but Rocks and Flats, very dangerous to passe, and they are distant some two leagues from the mayne Land on the South.

[IV. viii. 1611.]

The Ile of Orleance.

And from thence wee ranged the Ile of Orleans on the Southside: It is a league from the North shoare, very pleasant and levell, contayning eight leagues in length. The Coast on the South shoare is low land, some two

leagues into the Countrey: the said lands begin to be low over against the said Ile, which beginneth two leagues from the South Coast: to passe by the North side is very dangerous for the bankes of Sand and Rockes, which are betweene the said Ile and the mayne Land, which is almost all dry at a low water. At the end of the said Ile I saw a fall of water, which fell from a great Mountaine, of the said River of Canada, and on the top of the said Mountaine the ground is levell and pleasant to behold, although within the said Countries a man may see high Mountaynes which may bee some twenty, or five and twenty leagues within the Lands, which are neere the first Sault of Saguenay. We anchored at Quebec, *Quebec.* which is a Strait of the said River of Canada, which is some three hundred pases broad: there is at this Strait on the North side a very high Mountayne, which falleth downe on both sides: all the rest is a levell and goodly Countrey, where there are good grounds full of Trees, as Okes, Cypresses, Birches, Firre-trees and Aspes, and other Trees bearing fruit, and wild Vines: So that in mine opinion, if they were dressed, they would be as good as ours. There are along the Coast of the said Quebec Diamants in the Rockes of Slate, which are better *Diamants.* then those of Alonson. From the said Quebec to the Ile of Coudre, or Filberds, are nine and twenty leagues. *29. leagues.*

ON Munday the three and twentieth of the said moneth, we departed from Quebec, where the River beginneth to grow broad sometimes one league, then a league and an halfe or two leagues at most. The Countrey groweth still fairer and fairer, and are all low grounds, without Rockes, or very few. The North Coast is full of Rockes and bankes of Sand: you must take the South side, about some halfe league from the shore. There are certaine small Rivers which are not navigable, but only for the Canowes of the Savages, wherein there be many fals. Wee anchored as high as Saint Croix, which is distant from Quebec fifteene leagues. This is a low point, which

Of the point of S. Croix, of the River of Batiscon, of the Rivers, Rocks, Iles, Lands, Trees, Fruits, Vines, & faire Countries, which are from Quebec unto The 3. Rivers. Chap. 6. Saint Croix.

15. leagues.

riseth up on both sides. The Countrey is faire and levell, and the soyles better then in any place that I have seene, with plenty of wood, but very few Firre-trees and Cypresses. There are in these parts great store of Vines, *Ground Nuts.* Peares, small Nuts, Cheries, Goose-beries, red and greene, and certaine small Roots of the bignesse of a little Nut, resembling Musheroms in taste, which are very good roasted and sod. All this soyle is blacke, without any Rockes, save that there is great store of Slate: The soyle is very soft, and if it were well manured it would yeeld great increase. On the Northside there is a River which *The River Batiscan.* is called Batiscan, which goeth farre into the Countrey, whereby sometimes the Algoumequins come downe: and *Another River.* another on the same side three leagues from the said Saint Croix, in the way from Quebec, which is that where Jacques Quartier was in the beginning of the Discovery which he made hereof, and hee passed no farther. The said River is pleasant, and goeth farre up into the Countries. All this North Coast is very levell and delectable.

On Tuesday the foure and twentieth of the said moneth, wee departed from the said Saint Croix, where we stayed a tyde and an halfe, that we might passe the next day following by day light, because of the great number of Rockes which are thwart the River (a strange thing to behold) which is in a manner dry at a low water: But at halfe flood, a man may beginne to passe safely; yet you must take good heed, with the Lead alwayes in hand. The tyde floweth heere almost three fathomes and an *A goodly Countrie.* halfe: the farther we went, the fairer was the Countrey. We went some five leagues and an halfe, and anchored on the North side. The Wednesday following wee departed from the said place, which is a flatter Countrey then that which we passed before, full of great store of Trees as that of Saint Croix. We passed hard by a little *An Ile full of Vines.* Ile, which was full of Vines, and came to an Anchor on the South side neere a little Hill: but beeing on the top thereof all is even ground.

There is another little Ile three leagues from Saint Croix, joyning neere the South shore. Wee departed from the said Hill the Thursday following, and passed by a little Ile, which is neere the North shoare, where I saw sixe small Rivers, whereof two are able to beare Boats farre up, and another is three hundred pases broad: there are certaine Ilands in the mouth of it; it goeth farre up into the Countrey; it is the deepest of all the rest which are very pleasant to behold, the soyle being full of Trees which are like to Walnut-trees, and have the same smell: but I saw no Fruit, which maketh me doubt: the Savages told me that they beare Fruit like ours.

Sixe small Rivers.

In passing further we met an Ile, which is called Saint Eloy, and another little Ile, which is hard by the North shoare: we passed betweene the said Ile and the North shore, where betweene the one and the other are some hundred and fiftie paces. From the said Ile we passed a league and an halfe, on the South side neere unto a River, whereon Canowes might goe. All this Coast on the North side is very good, one may passe freely there, yet with the Lead in the hand, to avoid certaine points. All this Coast which we ranged is moving Sand; but after you be entred a little into the Woods, the soile is good. The Friday following we departed from this Ile, coasting still the North side hard by the shoare, which is low and full of good Trees, and in great number as farre as the three Rivers, where it beginneth to have another temperature of the season, somewhat differing from that of Saint Croix: because the Trees are there more forward then in any place that hitherto I had seene. From the three Rivers to Saint Croix are fifteene leagues. In this River are sixe Ilands, three of which are very small, and the other some five or sixe hundred paces long, very pleasant and fertile, for the little quantitie of ground that they containe. There is one Iland in the middest of the said River, which looketh directly upon the passage of the River of Canada, and commandeth the other Ilands which lye further from the shoare, aswell on the one side

The Ile S. Eloy.

[IV. viii. 1612.]

Another small River.

A better temperature.

15. *leagues.*

An Iland fit to be planted.

as on the other, of foure or five hundred paces: it riseth on the South side, and falleth somewhat on the North side. This in my judgement would be a very fit place to inhabit; and it might bee quickly fortified: for the situation is strong of it selfe, and neere unto a great Lake, which is above foure leagues distant, which is almost joyned to the River of Saguenay, by the report of the Savages, which travell almost an hundred leagues Northward, and passe many Saults, and then goe by Land some five or sixe leagues, and enter into a Lake, whence the said River of Saguenay receiveth the best part of his Spring, and the said Savages come from the said Lake to Tadousac.

A great Lake.

The head of Saguenay 106. leagues off.

Moreover, the planting of The three Rivers would be a benefit for the liberty of certaine Nations, which dare not come that way for feare of the said Irocois their enemies, which border upon all the said River of Canada. But this place being inhabited, we might make the Irocois and the other Savages friends, or at least wise under the favour of the said Plantation, the said Savages might passe freely without feare or danger: because the said place of The three Rivers is a passage. All the soyle which I saw on the North shoare is sandy. Wee went up above a league into the said River, and could passe no further, by reason of the great current of water. We took a Boate to search up further, but we went not past a league, but we met a very Strait full of water, of some twelve paces, which caused us that we could not passe no further. All the ground which I saw on the bankes of the said River riseth more and more, and is full of Firre-trees and Cypresse Trees, and hath very few other Trees.

A great course of water.

Great Lake described and River of the Irocois. Chap. 7.

ON the Saturday following, we departed from The three Rivers, and anchored at a Lake, which is foure leagues distant. All this Countrey from The three Rivers to the entrance of the said Lake is low ground, even with the water on the North side; and on the South side

it is somewhat higher. The said Countrey is exceeding good, and the most pleasant that hitherto we had seene: the Woods are very thinne, so that a man may travell easily through them. The next day being the nine and twentieth of June, we entred into the Lake, which is some fifteene leagues in length, and some seven or eight leagues broad: At the entrance thereof on the Southside within a league there is a River which is very great, and entreth into the Countrey some sixtie or eightie leagues, and continuing along the same Coast, there is another little River, which pierceth about two leagues into the Land, and commeth out of another small Lake, which may containe some three or foure leagues. On the North side where the Land sheweth very high, a man may see some twentie leagues off; but by little and little the Mountaynes beginne to fall toward the West, as it were into a flat Countrey.

The Lake of Argolesme. *15. leagues.* *A great River.* *Another small River.*

The Savages say, that the greatest part of these Mountaynes are bad soyle. The said Lake hath some three fathoms water whereas we passed, which was almost in the middest: the length lieth East and West, and the breadth from North to the South. I thinke it hath good fish in it, of such kinds as we have in our owne Countrey. Wee passed it the very same day, and anchored about two leagues within the great River which goeth up to the Sault: In the mouth whereof are thirtie small Ilands, as farre as I could discerne; some of them are of two leagues, others a league and an halfe, & some lesse, which are full of Walnut-trees, which are not much different from ours; and I thinke their Walnuts are good when they bee ripe: I saw many of them under the Trees, which were of two sorts, the one small, and the others as long as a mans Thumbe, but they were rotten. There are also store of Vines upon the bankes of the said Ilands. But when the waters be great, the most part of them is covered with water. And this Countrey is yet better then any other which I had seene before.

Two leagues. *30. smal Ilands.* *Wal-nuts of two sorts.* *Store of Vines.* *Good Countries.*

The last day of June wee departed from thence, and

The River of the Irocois. passed by the mouth of the River of the Irocois; where the Savages which came to make warre against them, were
Their manner of fortification with stakes. lodged and fortified. Their Fortresse was made with a number of posts set very close one to another, which joyned on the one side on the banke of the great River of Canada, and the other on the banke of the River of the Irocois: and their Boates were ranged the one by the other neere the shoare, that they might flie away with speed, if by chance they should bee surprised by the Irocois. For their Fort is covered with the barke of
[IV. viii. 1613.] Okes, and serveth them for nothing else, but to have time to embarke themselves. We went up the River of the Irocois some five or sixe leagues, and could passe no farther with our Pinnasse, by reason of the great course of water which descendeth, and also because we cannot goe on Land, and draw the Pinnasse for the multitude of Trees which are upon the bankes.

Seeing we could not passe any further, we tooke our Skiffe, to see whether the current were more gentle, but going up some two leagues, it was yet stronger, and wee could goe no higher. Being able to doe no more we returned to our Pinnasse. All this River is some three hundred or foure hundred paces broad, and very whol-
Five Ilands. some. Wee saw five Ilands in it, distant one from the other a quarter or halfe a league, or a league at the most: one of which is a league long, which is the neerest to the mouth, and the others are very small. All these Countries are covered with Trees and low Lands, like those which I had seene before; but here are more Firres and Cypresses then in other places. Neverthelesse, the
This River runneth almost South-west. soile is good, although it bee somewhat sandy. This River runneth in a manner South-west. The Savages say, that some fifteene leagues from the place where we were up the River, there is a Sault which falleth downe from a very steepe place, where they carry their Canowes to passe the same some quarter of a league, and come into a Lake; at the mouth whereof, are three Ilands, and being within the same they meete with more Iles: This

Lake may containe some fortie or fiftie leagues in length, and some five and twentie leagues in breadth, into which many Rivers fall, to the number of ten, which carrie Canowes very far up. When they are come to the end of this Lake, there is another fall, and they enter againe into another Lake, which is as great as the former, at the head whereof the Irocois are lodged. They say moreover, that there is a River, which runneth unto the Coast of Florida, whether it is from the said last Lake some hundred, or an hundred and fortie leagues. All the Countrey of the Irocois is somewhat Mountaynous, yet notwithstanding exceeding good, temperate, without much Winter, which is very short there.

A Lake some fortie or fiftie leagues long in the Countrey of the Irocois.

The goodnesse and short winter of the Countrey of Irocois.

AFter our departure from the River of the Irocois, wee anchored three leagues beyond the same, on the North side. All this Countrie is a lowe Land, replenished with all sorts of trees, which I have spoken of before. The first day of July we coasted the North side, where the wood is very thinne, and more thinne then wee had seene in any place before, and all good land for tillage. I went in a Canoa to the South shoare, where I saw a number of Iles, which have many fruitfull trees, as Vines, Wal-nuts, Hasel-nuts, and a kinde of fruit like Chest-nuts, Cheries, Oakes, Aspe, Hoppes, Ashe, Beech, Cypresses, very few Pines and Firre-trees. There are also other trees which I knew not, which are very pleasant. Wee found there store of Strawberries, Rasp-berries Goosberries red, greene, and blue, with many small fruits, which growe there among great abundance of grasse. There are also many wilde beasts, as Orignas, Stagges, Does, Buckes, Beares, Porkepickes, Conies, Foxes, Beavers, Otters, Muske-rats, and certaine other kindes of beasts which I doe not knowe, which are good to eate, and whereof the Savages live. Wee passed by an Ile, which is very pleasant, and containeth some foure leagues in length, and halfe a league in breadth. I saw toward the South two high Mountaines, which shewed some

Their arrival at the Sault or Fall of the River of Canada, the description thereof. Cha. 8.

Fruitfull Trees of many sorts.

Orignas are before said to bee like oxen perhaps Buffes.

Lescarbot, that Orignacs are Ellans.

Wilde beasts.

A pleasant Ile.

twentie leagues within the Land. The Savages told mee, that here beganne the first fall of the foresaid River of the Irocois. The Wednesday following wee departed from this place, and sayled some five or sixe leagues.

Many Ilands. Wee saw many Ilands: the Land is there very lowe, and these Iles are covered with trees, as those of the River of the Irocois were.

July 3. The day following, being the third of July, we ranne

Many more Ilands. certaine leagues, and passed likewise by many other Ilands, which are excellent good and pleasant, through the great store of Medowes which are there about, as well on the shoare of the maine Land, as of the other Ilands: and all the Woods are of very small growth, in comparison of those which wee had passed. At length we came this

The entrance of the Sault or Fall. very day to the entrance of the Sault or Fall of the great River of Canada, with favourable wind; and wee met

An Ile. with an Ile, which is almost in the middest of the said entrance, which is a quarter of a league long, and passed on the South side of the said Ile, where there was not past three, foure or five foot water, and sometimes a fathome or two, and straight on the sudden wee found againe not past three or foure foot. There are many Rockes, and small Ilands, whereon there is no wood, and they are even with the water. From the beginning of the foresaid Ile, which is in the middest of the said

A great current of water. entrance, the water beginneth to runne with a great force. Although we had the wind very good, yet wee could not with all our might make any great way: neverthelesse wee passed the said Ile which is at the entrance of the Sault or Fall. When wee perceived that wee could goe no further, wee came to an anchor on the North shoare over against a small Iland, which aboundeth for the most part with those kinde of fruits which I have spoken of

Monsieur du Pont and Monsieur du Champlaine search the Sault. before. Without all delay wee made ready our skiffe, which wee had made of purpose to passe the said Sault: whereinto the said Monsieur de Pont and my selfe entred, with certaine Savages, which we had brought with us to shew us the way. Departing from our Pinnace, we were

scarse gone three hundred paces, but we were forced to come out, and cause certain Mariners to goe into the water to free our Skiffe. The Canoa of the Savages passed easily. Wee met with an infinite number of small Rockes, which were even with the water, on which wee touched oftentimes.

[IV. viii. 1614.]

There be two great Ilands, one on the North side, which containeth some fifteene leagues in length, and almost as much in breadth, beginning some twelve leagues up within the River of Canada, going toward the River of the Irocois, and endeth beyond the Sault. The Iland which is on the South side is some foure leagues long, and some halfe league broad. There is also another Iland, which is neere to that on the North side, which may bee some halfe league long, and some quarter broad: and another small Iland which is betweene that on the North side, and another neerer to the South shoare, whereby wee passed the entrance of the Sault. This entrance being passed, there is a kinde of Lake, wherein all these Ilands are, some five leagues long and almost as broad, wherein are many small Ilands which are Rockes. There is a Mountaine neere the said Sault which discovereth farre into the Countrie, and a little River which falleth from the said Mountaine into the Lake. On the South side are some three or foure Mountaines, which seeme to be about fifteene or sixteene leagues within the Land. There are also two Rivers; one, which goeth to the first Lake of the River of the Irocois, by which sometimes the Algoumequins invade them: and another which is neere unto the Sault, which runneth not farre into the Countrey.

Two great Ilands.

A kind of Lake some 5. leagues long.

3. or 4. Mountaines on the South side.

Two Rivers.

At our comming neere to the said Sault with our Skiffe and Canoa, I assure you, I never saw any streame of water to fall downe with such force as this doth; although it bee not very high, being not in some places past one or two fathoms, and at the most three: it falleth as it were steppe by steppe: and in every place where it hath some small heigth, it maketh a strong boyling with the force and strength of the running of the water. In the breadth

The furie of the fall of water.

The Sault a league broad.

of the said Sault, which may containe some league, there are many broad Rockes, and almost in the middest, there are very narrow and long Ilands, where there is a Fall as well on the side of the said Iles which are toward the South, as on the North side: where it is so dangerous, that it is not possible for any man to passe with any Boat, how small soever it be. We went on land through the Woods, to see the end of this Sault: where, after wee had travelled a league, wee saw no more Rockes nor Falls:

The swift current of the water above the Fall.

but the water runneth there so swiftly as it is possible: and this current lasteth for three or foure leagues: so that it is in vaine to imagine, that a man is able to passe the said Saults with any Boats. But he that would passe them, must fit himselfe with the Canoas of the Savages, which one man may easily carrie. For to carrie Boats is a thing which cannot be done in so short time as it should bee to bee able to returne into France, unlesse a man would

Ten Saults more.

winter there. And beside this first Sault, there are ten Saults more, the most part hard to passe. So that it would be a matter of great paines and travell to bee able to see and doe that by Boat which a man might promise himselfe, without great cost and charge, and also to bee in danger to travell in vaine. But with the Canoas of the Savages a man may travell freely and readily into all Countries, as well in the small as in the great Rivers: So that directing himselfe by the meanes of the said Savages and their Canoas, a man may see all that is to be seene, good and bad, within the space of a yeere or two. That little way which wee travelled by Land on the side of the said Sault, is a very thinne Wood, through which men with their Armes may march easily, without any trouble;

Temperate aire, and good soyle.

the aire is there more gentle and temperate, and the soyle better then in any place that I had seene, where is

The Sault is in 45. degrees and certaine minutes.

store of such wood and fruits, as are in all other places before mentioned: and it is in the latitude of 45. degrees and certaine minutes.

A draught of the Savages.

When we saw that we could doe no more, we returned to our Pinnace; where we examined the Savages which

we had with us, of the end of the River, which I caused them to draw with their hand, and from what part the Head thereof came. They told us, that beyond the first Sault that we had seene, they travelled some ten or fifteene leagues with their Canoas in the River, where there is a River which runneth to the dwelling of the Algoumequins, which are some sixty leagues distant from the great River; and then they passed five Saults, which may containe from the first to the last eight leagues, whereof there are two where they carrie their Canoas to passe them: every Sault may containe halfe a quarter or a quarter of a league at the most. And then they come into a Lake, which may be fifteene or sixteene leagues long. From thence they enter againe into a River which may be a league broad, and travell some two leagues in the same; and then they enter into another Lake some foure or five leagues long: comming to the end thereof, they passe five other Saults, distant from the first to the last some five and twenty or thirty leagues; whereof there are three where they carrie their Canoas to passe them, and thorow the other two they doe but draw them in the water, because the current is not there so strong, nor so bad, as in the others. None of all these Saults is so hard to passe, as that which we saw. Then they come into a Lake, which may containe some eighty leagues in length, in which are many Ilands, and at the end of the same the water is brackish, and * the Winter gentle. At the end of the said Lake they passe a Sault which is somewhat high, where little water descendeth: there they carrie their Canoas by land about a quarter of a league to passe this Sault. From thence they enter into another Lake, which may be some sixty leagues long, and that the water thereof is very brackish: at the end thereof they come unto a Strait which is two leagues broad, and it goeth farre into the Countrie. They told us, that they themselves had passed no farther; and that they had not seene the end of a Lake, which is within fifteene or sixteene leagues of the farthest place where themselves had beene, nor that they which told them of

The first report of the Savages touching the Head of the River.

A River running 60. leags into the Countrie of the Algoumequins.

A Lake of 15. leagues.

Another Lake of 4. leagues.

Five other Saults.

A Lake of 80. leagues long.

Brakish water.

**It seemeth hereby to trend southward.*

The last Sault.

Another Lake 60. leagues long, very brakish.

A Strait of 2. leagues broad.

Another mightie Lake.

it had knowne any man that had seene the end thereof, because it is so great that they would not hazard themselves to sayle farre into the same, for feare lest some storme or gust of winde should surprise them. They say that in the Summer the Sunne doth set to the North of the said Lake, and in the Winter it setteth as it were in the middest thereof: That the water is there exceeding salt, to wit, as salt as the Sea water. I asked them whether from the last Lake which they had seene, the water descended alwaies downe the River comming to Gaschepay? They told me, no: but said, that from the third Lake onely it descended to Gaschepay: But that from the last Sault, which is somewhat high, as I have said, the water was almost still, and that the said Lake might take his course by other Rivers, which passe within the Lands, either to the South, or to the North, whereof there are many that runne there, the end whereof they see not. Now, in my judgement, if so many Rivers fall into this Lake, having so small a course at the said Sault, it must needs of necessitie fall out, that it must have his issue forth by some exceeding great River. But that which maketh me beleeve that there is no River by which this Lake doth issue forth (considering the number of so many Rivers as fall into it) is this, that the Savages have not seene any River, that runneth through the Countries, save in the place where they were. Which maketh me beleeve that this is the South Sea, being salt as they say: Neverthelesse we may not give so much credit thereunto, but that it must bee done with apparent reasons, although there be some small shew thereof. And this assuredly is all that hitherto I have seene and heard of the Savages, touching that which we demanded of them.

The southerne situation of a great Lake.
The water as salt as sea-water.
Many Rivers running south and north.
Hudsons River may be one of these.
An exceeding great River.
The south Sea.

Of Canada, and of the number of the Fals and Lakes which it passeth by. Chap. 9.

July 4. The River of the Irocois.

WEe departed from the said Sault on Friday the fourth day of July, and returned the same day to the River of the Irocois. On Sunday the sixth of July wee departed from thence, and anchored in the Lake. The Monday following wee anchored at the three Rivers.

This day wee sayled some foure leagues beyond the said three Rivers. The Tuesday following we came to Quebec; and the next day wee were at the end of this Ile of Orleans, where the Savages came to us, which were lodged in the maine Land on the North side. Wee examined two or three Algoumequins, to see whether they would agree with those that wee had examined touching the end and the beginning of the said River of Canada. They said, as they had drawne out the shape thereof, that having passed the Sault, which wee had seene, some two or three leagues, there goeth a River into their dwelling, which is on the North side. So going on forward in the said great River, they passe a Sault, where they carrie their Canoas, and they come to passe five other Saults, which may containe from the first to the last some nine or ten leagues, and that the said Saults are not hard to passe, and they doe but draw their Canoas in the most part of the said Saults or Falls, saving at two, where they carrie them: from thence they enter into a River, which is as it were a kinde of Lake, which may containe some sixe or seven leagues: and then they passe five other Falls, where they draw their Canoas as in the first mentioned, saving in two, where they carrie them as in the former: and that from the first to the last there are some twenty or five and twenty leagues. Then they come into a Lake contayning some hundred and fifty leagues in length: and foure or five leagues within the entrance of that Lake there is a River which goeth to the Algoumequins toward the North; and another River which goeth to the Irocois, whereby the said Algoumequins and Irocois make warre the one against the other. Then comming to the end of the said Lake, they meete with another Fall, where they carrie their Canoas. From thence they enter into another exceeding great Lake, which may containe as much as the former: They have beene but a very little way in this last Lake, and have heard say, that at the end of the said Lake there is a Sea, the end whereof they have not seene, neither have heard that any have seene it. But that

Another report of the Algoumequin Savages.

A River or Lake 6. or 7. leagues long.

A Lake 150. leagues long.

A River on the North side going toward the Algoumequins.

A River on the south side.

Another exceeding great Lake.

A Sea, the end whereof the Savages never saw.

where they have beene, the water is not salt, because they have not entred farre into it; and that the course of the water commeth from the Sun-setting toward the East; and they knowe not, whether beyond the Lake that they have seene, there be any other course of water that goeth Westward. That the Sunne setteth on the right hand of this Lake: which is, according to my judgement, at the North-west, little more or lesse; and that in the first great Lake the water freezeth not (which maketh mee judge that the climate is there temperate) and that all the Territories of the Algoumequins are lowe grounds, furnished with small store of wood: And that the coast of the Irocois is Mountainous, neverthelesse they are excellent good and fertile soyles, and better then they have seene any where else: That the said Irocois reside some fifty or sixty leagues from the said great Lake. And this assuredly is all which they have told mee that they have seene: which differeth very little from the report of the first Savages. This day wee came within some three leagues of the Ile of Coudres or Filberds.

It seemeth to lie southward.

The Ile Coudres.

The Ile Du Lieure or Of the Hare.

On Thursday the tenth of the said moneth, wee came within a league and an halfe of the Ile Du Lieure, or Of the Hare, on the North side, where other Savages came into our Pinnace, among whom there was a young man, an Algoumequin, which had travelled much in the said great Lake. Wee examined him very particularly, as wee had done the other Savages. Hee told us, that having passed the said Fall which wee had seene, within two or three leagues there is a River, which goeth to the said Algoumequins, where they be lodged; and that passing up the great River of Canada, there are five Falls, which may containe from the first to the last some eight or nine leagues, whereof there bee three where they carrie their Canoas, and two others wherein they draw them: that each of the said Falls may be a quarter of a league long: then they come into a Lake, which may containe some fifteene leagues. Then they passe five other Falls, which may containe from the first to the last some twenty or

The third report made by a great Traveller.

[IV. viii. 1616.]

A Lake 15. leagues long.

five and twenty leagues; where there are not past two of the said Falls which they passe with their Canoas, in the other three they doe but draw them. From thence they enter into an exceeding great Lake, which may containe some three hundred leagues in length: when they are passed some hundred leagues into the said Lake, they meet with an Iland, which is very great; and beyond the said Iland the water is brackish: But when they have passed some hundred leagues farther, the water is yet salter: and comming to the end of the said Lake, the water is wholly salt. Farther he said, that there is a Fall that is a league broad, from whence an exceeding current of water descendeth into the said Lake. That after a man is passed this Fall, no more land can be seene neither on the one side nor on the other, but so great a Sea, that they never have seene the end thereof, nor have heard tell, that any other have seene the same. That the Sunne setteth on the right hand of the said Lake: and that at the entrance thereof there is a River which goeth to the Algoumequins, and another River to the Irocois, whereby they warre the one against the other. That the Countrie of the Irocois is somewhat mountainous, yet very fertile, where there is store of Indian Wheat, and other fruits, which they have not in their Countrie: That the Countrie of the Algoumequins is lowe and fruitfull. I enquired of them, whether they had any knowledge of any Mines? They told us, that there is a Nation which are called the good Irocois, which come to exchange for merchandises, which the French ships doe give to the Algoumequins, which say, that there is toward the North a Mine of fine Copper, whereof they shewed us certaine Bracelets, which they had received of the said Good Irocois: and that if any of us would goe thither, they would bring them to the place, which should bee appointed for that businesse. And this is all which I could learne of the one and the other, differing but very little; save that the second which were examined, said, that they had not tasted of the salt water: for they had not beene so farre within the said

An exceeding great Lake 300. leagues long.

A very great Iland.

Brackish water.

More brackish water.

Whole salt water.

A great and maine Sea.

A River which goeth to the Algoumequins.

A Mine of fine Copper.

Lake, as the others: and they differ some small deale in the length of the way, the one sort making it more short, and the other more long. So that, according to their report, from the Sault or Fall where wee were, is the space of some foure hundred leagues unto the Salt Sea, which may be the South Sea, the Sunne setting where they say it doth. On Friday the tenth of the said moneth we returned to Tadousac, where our ship lay.

Some 400. leagues from the first Sault to the South-sea.

Their Voyage from Tadousac to the Ile Percee: of many Rivers, Lakes and Countries, wherein are found sundry sorts of Mines. Chap. 10.

100. leagues from Gachepay to Tadousac.

Armouchides.

Sagamo.

ASsoone as wee were come to Tadousac, wee embarqued our selves againe to goe to Gachepay, which is distant from the said Tadousac about some hundred leagues. The thirteenth day of the said moneth we met with a companie of Savages, which were lodged on the South side, almost in the mid-way betweene Tadousac and Gachepay. Their Sagamo or Captaine which led them is called Armouchides, which is held to be one of the wisest and most hardy among all the Savages: Hee was going to Tadousac to exchange Arrowes, and the flesh of Orignars, which they have for Beavers and Marterns of the other Savages, the Mountainers, Estechemains, and Algoumequins.

The description of the Port of Gachepay.

The Bay of Cods.

The Ile Percee.

The fifteenth day of the said moneth we came to Gachepay, which is in a Bay, about a league and a halfe on the North side. The said Bay containeth some seven or eight leagues in length, and at the mouth thereof foure leagues in breadth. There is a River which runneth some thirty leagues up into the Countrie: Then we saw another Bay, which is called the Bay des Mollues, or the Bay of Cods, which may be some three leagues long, and as much in bredth at the mouth. From thence we come to the Ile Percee, which is like a Rocke, very steepe, rising on both sides, wherein there is a hole, through which Shalops and Boats may passe at an high water: and at a lowe water one may goe from the maine Land to the said Ile, which is not past foure or five hundred paces off. Moreover, there is another Iland in a manner South-east from the Ile Percee about a league, which is called the Ile de

Bonne-adventure, and it may bee some halfe a league long. All these places of Gachepay, the Bay of Cods, and the Ile Percee, are places where they make dry and greene Fish. When you are passed the Ile Percee, there is a Bay which is called the Bay of Heate, which runneth as it were West South-west, some foure and twenty leagues into the land, containing some fifteene leagues in breadth at the mouth thereof. The Savages of Canada say, that up the great River of Canada, about some sixtie leagues, ranging the South coast, there is a small River called Mautanne, which runneth some eighteene leagues up into the Countreys and being at the head thereof, they carrie their Canowes about a league by land, and they come into the said Bay of Heate, by which they goe sometimes to the Isle Percee. Also they goe from the said Bay to Tregate and Misamichy. Running along the said coast we passe by many Rivers, and come to a place where there is a River which is called Souricova, where Monsieur Prevert was to discover a Mine of Copper. They goe with their Conowes up this River three or foure dayes, then they passe three or foure leagues by land, to the said Mine, which is hard upon the Sea shoare on the South side. At the mouth of the said River, there is an Iland lying a league into the Sea; from the said Island unto the Isle Perçee, is some sixtie or seventie leagues. Still following the said coast, which trendeth toward the East, you meete with a Strait, which is two leagues broad, and five and twenty leagues long. On the East side is an Isle, which is called the Isle of Saint Laurence, where Cape Breton is; and in this place a Nation of Savages, called the Souricois, doe winter.

The Ile de Bonadventure.

The Bay of Heate.

The River of Mautanne.

Tregate and Misamichy.

The River Sourova.

A Mine of Copper.

[IV. viii. 1617.]

An Iland.

A Strait betweene the Iles of Cape Breton and the maine Land.

Souricois.

Passing the Strait of the Iles of Saint Lawrence, and ranging the South-west Coast, you come to a Bay which joyneth hard upon the Myne of Copper. Passing farther there is a River, which runneth threescore or fourescore leagues into the Countrey, which reacheth neere to the Lake of the Irocois, whereby the said Savages of the South-west Coast make warre upon them. It would be

A great River on the South-west coast whereby those savages invade the Irocois.

an exceeding great benefit, if there might be found a passage on the Coast of Florida neere to the said great Lake, where the water is salt; aswell for the Navigation of ships, which should not bee subject to so many perils as they are in Canada, as for the shortning of the way above three hundred leagues. And it is most certaine, that there are Rivers on the Coast of Florida, which are not yet discovered, which pierce up into the Countries, where the soile is exceeding good and fertile, and very good Havens. The Countrey and Coast of Florida may have another temperature of the season, and may bee more fertile in abundance of fruites and other things, then that which I have seene: But it cannot have more even nor better sayles, then those which we have seene.

Great Rivers and good Havens on the coast of Florida or Virginia.

A River.

A Lake twenty leagues in compasse.

The Savages say, that in the foresaid great Bay of Hete there is a River, which runneth up some twentie leagues into the Countrey, at the head whereof there is a Lake, which may be about twentie leagues in compasse, wherein is little store of water, and the Summer it is dried up, wherein they find, about a foot or a foot and an halfe under the ground a kind of Metall like to silver, which I shewed them; and that in another place neere the said Lake there is a Myne of Copper. And this is that which I learned of the foresaid Savages.

A mettall like Silver.

A Mine of Copper.

Our returne from the Ile Percee to Tadousac, with the description of the Ile Creeks, Ports, Rivers, Iles, Rockes, Falls, Bayes, and Shoalds which are along the North coast. Chap. 11.

The North shoare.

WE departed from the Ile Perçee the nineteenth day of the said moneth to returne to Tadousac. When we were within three leagues of Cape le Vesque, or the Bishops Cape, we were encountred with a storme which lasted two dayes, which forced us to put roomer with a great creeke, and to stay for faire weather. The day following we departed, and were encountred with another storme: Being loth to put roome, and thinking to gaine way wee touched on the North shore the eight and twentieth day of July in a creeke which is very bad, because of the edges of Rockes which lie there. This creeke is in 51. degrees and certaine minutes. The next day we anchored neere a River, which is called Saint

Margarites River, where at a full Sea is some three fathomes water, and a fathome and an halfe at a low water: this River goeth farre up into the Land. As farre as I could see within the Land on the East shoare, there is a fall of water which entreth into the said River, and falleth some fiftie or sixtie fathomes downe, from whence commeth the greatest part of the water which descendeth downe. At the mouth thereof there is a banke of Sand, whereon at the ebbe is but halfe a fathome water. All the Coast toward the East is moving Sand: there is a point some halfe league from the said River, which stretcheth halfe a league into the Sea: and toward the West there is a small Iland: this place is in fiftie degrees. All these Countries are exceeding bad, full of Firre-trees. The Land here is somewhat high, but not so high as that on the Southside. Some three leagues beyond we passed neere unto another River, which seemed to be very great, yet barred for the most part with Rockes: some eight leagues farther there is a Point which runneth a league and an halfe into the Sea, where there is not past a fathome and an halfe of water. When you are passed this Point, there is another about foure leagues off, where is water enough. All this Coast is low and sandie. Foure leagues beyond this there is a creeke where a River entreth: many ships may passe heere on the West side: this is a low point, which runneth about a league into the Sea; you must runne along the Easterne shoare some three hundred paces to enter into the same. This is the best Haven which is all along the North shoare; but it is very dangerous in going thither, because of the flats and sholds of sand, which lye for the most part all along the shoare, almost two leagues into the Sea. About six leagues from thence, there is a Bay where there is an Isle of sand; all this Bay is very shallow, except on the East side, where it hath about foure fathoms water: within the channell which entreth into the said Bay, some foure leagues up, there is a faire creeke where a River entreth. All this coast is low and sandie, there descendeth a fall

The River of Saint Margaret.

A sandy coast.

Very bad Countries.

A point that runneth into the sea.

A good Creek, where many ships may ride.

A Bay.

A Creeke.

of water which is great. About five leagues farther is a Point which stretcheth about halfe a league into the Sea, where there is a creeke, and from the one point to the other are three leagues, but all are shoald, where is little water. About two leagues off, there is a strand where there is a good haven, and a small River, wherein are three Islands, and where Ships may harbour themselves from the weather. Three leagues beyond this, is a sandie point which runneth out about a league, at the end whereof there is a small Islet. Going forward to Lesquenim, you meete with two little low Islands, and a little rocke neere the shoare: these said Ilands are about halfe a league from Lesquenim, which is a very bad Port, compassed with rockes, and dry at a low water, and you must fetch about a little point of a rocke to enter in, where one Ship onely can passe at a time. A little higher there is a River, which runneth a little way into the land. This is the place where the Basks kill the Whales; to say the truth, the haven is starke naught. Wee came from thence to the foresaid haven of Tadousac, the third day of August. All these Countries before mentioned are low toward the shoare, and within the land very high. They are neither so pleasant nor fruitfull as those on the South, although they be lower. And this for a certaintie is all which I have seene of this Northerne coast.

Two little low Ilands.

Lesquenim a very bad Port.

[IV. viii. 1618.]

The River where the Basks kill the whales.

Our arrival at Tadousac the 3. of August.

Of the Armouchicois Savages and of their monstrous shape. The discourse of Monsieur de Prevert of Saint Malo, touching the discoverie of the South-west Coast. Ch. 12.

The Ceremonies which they use before they go to the warres.

AT our comming to Tadousac, we found the Savages which wee met in the River of the Irocois, who met with three Canowes of the Irocois in the first Lake, which fought against tenne others of the Mountayners; and they brought the heads of the Irocois to Tadousac, and there was but one Mountayner wounded in the arme with the shot of an Arrow, who dreaming of something, all the other tenne must seeke to content him, thinking also that his wound thereby would mend if this Savage die, his Parents will revenge his death, either upon their Nation or upon others, or at least wise the Captaines must give Presents to the Parents of the dead, to content them;

otherwise as I have said, they would be revenged: which is a great fault among them. Before the said Mountayners set forth to the Warre, they assembled all, with their richest apparell of Furres, Beavers, and other Skinnes adorned with Pater-nosters and Chaines of divers colours, and assembled in a great publike place, where there was before them a Sagamo whose name was Begourat, which led them to the Warre, and they marched one behind another, with their Bowes and Arrowes, Mases and Targets, wherewith they furnish themselves to fight: and they went leaping one after another, in making many gestures of their bodies, they made many turnings like a Snaile: afterward they began to dance after their accustomed manner, as I have said before: then they made their Feast, and after they had ended it, the women stripped themselves starke naked, being decked with their fairest Cordons, and went into their Canowes thus naked and there danced, and then they went into the water, and strooke at one another with their Oares, and beate water one upon another: yet they did no hurt, for they warded the blowes which they strooke one at the other. After they had ended all these Ceremonies, they retired themselves into their Cabines, and the Savages went to warre against the Irocois.

Their departure from Tadousac.

The sixt day of August we departed from Tadousac, and the eighteenth of the said moneth we arrived at the Ile Perçee, where wee found Monsieur Prevert of Saint Malo, which came from the Myne, where he had beene with much trouble, for the feare which the Savages had to meet with their enemies, which are the Armouchicois, which are Savages very monstrous, for the shape that they have. For their head is little, and their body short, their armes small like a bone, and their thigh like; their legges great and long, which are all of one proportion, and when they sit upon their heeles, their knees are higher by halfe a foot then their head, which is a strange thing, and they seeme to be out of the course of Nature. Neverthelesse, they be very valiant and resolute, and are planted in the

Armouchicois deformed Savages.

The Souricois. best Countries of all the South Coast: And the Souricois do greatly feare them. But by the incouragement which the said Monsieur de Prevert gave them, hee brought them to the said Myne, to which the Savages guided him. It is a very high Mountaine, rising somewhat over the Sea, which glistereth very much against the Sunne, and there is great store of Verde-grease issuing out of the said Myne of Copper. He saith, that at the foot of the said Mountayne, at a low water there were many morsels of Copper, as was otherwise declared unto us, which fall downe from the top of the Mountaine. Passing three or foure leagues further toward the South, there is another Myne, and a small River which runneth a little way up into the Land, running toward the South, where there is a Mountaine, which is of a blacke painting, wherewith the Savages paint themselves: Some sixe leagues beyond the second Myne, toward the Sea, about a league from the South Coast, there is an Ile, wherein is found another kind of Metall, which is like a darke browne: if you cut it, it is white, which they used in old time for their Arrowes and Knives, and did beate it with stones. Which maketh me beleeve that it is not Tinne, nor Lead, being so hard as it is; and having shewed them silver, they said that the Myne of that Ile was like unto it, which they found in the earth, about a foot or two deepe. The said Monsieur Prevert gave the Savages Wedges and Cizers, and other things necessarie to draw out the said Myne; which they have promised to doe, and to bring the same the next yeere, and give it the said Monsieur Prevert. They say also that within some hundred or one hundred and twentie leagues there are other Mynes, but that they dare not goe thither unlesse they have Frenchmen with them to make warre upon their enemies, which have the said Mynes in their possession. The said place where the Myne is, standeth in 44. degrees and some few minutes, neere the South Coast within five or sixe leagues: it is a kind of Bay, which is certaine leagues broad at the mouth thereof, and somewhat more in length, where are

The Relation of the Copper Myne on the South Coast.

Another Mine.

Blacke painting.

An Ile wherein another kind of Metall is found, which is white being cut.

Other Mynes.

The description of the place where the said Myne is.

three Rivers, which fall into the great Bay neere unto the Ile of Saint John, which is thirtie or five and thirtie leagues long, and is sixe leagues distant from the South shoare. There is also another little River, which falleth almost in the mid way of that whereby Monsieur Prevert returned, and there are as it were two kind of Lakes in the said River. Furthermore, there is yet another small River which goeth toward the Mountaine of the painting. [IV. viii. 1619.] All these Rivers fall into the said Bay on the South-east part, neere about the said Ile which the Savages say there is of this white Metall. On the North side of the said Bay are the Mynes of Copper, where there is a good Haven for Ships, and a small Iland at the mouth of the Haven; the ground is Oze and Sand, where a man may run his ship on shoare. From the said Myne to the beginning of the mouth of the said River is some sixtie or eightie leagues by Land. But by the Sea Coast, according to my judgement, from the passage of the Ile of Saint Lawrence and the Firme Land, it cannot be past fiftie or sixtie leagues to the said Myne. All this Countrey is exceeding faire and flat, wherein are all sorts of trees, which wee saw as wee went to the first Sault up the great River of Canada, very small store of Firre-trees and Cypresses. And this of a truth is as much as I learned and heard of the said Monsieur Prevert.

A good Haven at the Copper Mynes.

BEfore we departed from Tadousac, to returne into France, one of the Sagamoz of the Mountayners named Bechourat, gave his Sonne to Monsieur du Pont to carrie him into France, and he was much recommended unto him by the Great Sagamo Anadabijou, praying him to use him well, and to let him see that, which the other two Savages had seene which we had brought backe againe. We prayed them to give us a woman of the Irocois, whom they would have eaten: whom they gave unto us, and we brought her home with the foresaid Savage. Monsieur de Prevert in like manner brought home foure Savages,

Their returne. Chap. 13.

one man which is of the South Coast, one woman and two children of the Canadians.

The foure and twentieth of August, we departed from Gachepay, the ship of the said Monsieur Prevert and ours. The second of September, we counted that wee were as farre as Cape Rase. The fift day of the said moneth we entred upon the Banke, whereon they use to fish. The sixteenth, we were come into the Sounding, which may be some fiftie leagues distant from the Ushant. The twentieth of the said moneth we arrived in New Haven by the grace of God to all our contentments, with a continuall favourable wind.

Cape Rase.
The Banke.
The soundings.
Ushant.

Chap. VII.

The Patent of the French King to Monsieur de Monts for the inhabiting of the Countries of La Cadia Canada, and other places in New France.

HEnry by the grace of God King of France and Navarre. To our deare and well beloved the Lord of Monts, one of the ordinarie Gentlemen of our Chamber, greeting. As our greatest care and labour is, and hath alwayes beene, since our comming to this Crowne, to maintaine and conserve it in the ancient dignitie, greatnesse and splendour thereof, to extend and amplifie, as much as lawfully may bee done, the bounds and limits of the same. We being, of a long time, informed of the situation and condition of the Lands and Territories of La Cadia, moved above all things, with a singular zeale, and devout and constant resolution, which we have taken, with the helpe and assistance of God, Author, Distributour, and Protectour of all Kingdomes and Estates, to cause the people, which doe inhabit the Countrey, men (at this present time) Barbarous, Atheists, without Faith, or Religion, to be converted to Christianitie, and to the

Beliefe and Profession of our Faith and Religion: and to draw them from the ignorance and unbeliefe wherein they are. Having also of a long time knowne by the Relation of the Sea Captaines, Pilots, Merchants and others, who of long time have haunted, frequented and trafficked with the people that are found in the said places, how fruitfull, commodious and profitable may be unto us, to our Estates and Subjects, the Dwelling, Possession, and Habitation of those Countries, for the great and apparent profit which may be drawne by the greater frequentation and habitude which may bee had with the people that are found there, and the Trafficke and Commerce which may be by that meanes safely treated and negotiated. We then for these causes fully trusting on your great wisdome, and in the knowledge and experience that you have of the qualitie, condition and situation of the said Countrie of La Cadia: for divers and sundry Navigations, Voyages and Frequentations that you have made into those parts, and others neere and bordering upon it: Assuring our selves that this our resolution and intention, being committed unto you, you will attentively, diligently, and no lesse couragiously and valorously execute and bring to such perfection as we desire: Have expresly appointed and established you, and by these Presents, signed with our owne hands, doe commit, ordaine, make, constitute and establish you, our Lieutenant Generall, for to represent our person, in the Countries, Territories, Coasts and Confines of La Cadia. To begin from the 40. degree unto the 46. And in the same distance, or part of it, as farre as may bee done, to establish, extend and make to be knowne our Name, Might and Authoritie. And under the same to subject, submit and bring to obedience all the people of the said Land and the Borderers thereof: And by the meanes thereof, and all lawfull wayes, to call, make, instruct, provoke and incite them to the knowledge of God, and to the light of the Faith and Christian Religion, [IV. viii. 1620.] to establish it there: And in the exercise and profession of the same, keepe and conserve the said people, and all

other Inhabitants in the said places, and there to command in peace, rest and tranquillitie, as well by Sea as by Land: to ordaine, decide, and cause to bee executed all that which you shall judge fit and necessarie to be done, for to maintaine, keepe and conserve the said places under our Power and Authoritie, by the formes, wayes and meanes prescribed by our Lawes. And for to have there a care of the same with you, to appoint, establish, and constitute all Officers, as well in the affaires of Warre, as for Justice and Policie, for the first time, and from thence forward to name and present them unto us: for to be disposed by us, and to give Letters, Titles, and such Provisoes as shall be necessarie, &c.

Given at Fountain-Bleau the eight day of November: in the yeere of our Lord 1603. And of our Reigne the fifteenth. Signed Henry: and underneath by the King, Potier; And sealed upon single labell with yellow Waxe.

The Voyage of Monsieur de Monts into New France, written by Marke Lescarbot.

The rest of this Patent is here for brevitie omitted: with the Provisoes, &c. And let not Englishmen feare want of roome for French Plantations or Savage habitations; these being very thin, the other scarse worthy the name of being, or plantation, having so many interruptions, and more frequented by the French in way of Trade with Savages then otherwise. I have omitted many digressions and discourses of the Authour; only for knowledge of those parts presenting the briefe summe of his most ample Worke. His Map but for cost, I would have here added. I have divers by me which I take more exact, I am sure with many many particulars wanting in his. And both his Mappe and Discourse shew that the French discovered not so neere Virginia, as Hudsons River; and that the French Plantations have beene more Northerly farre, then our Northerne Virginia, and to the Southerne, not a shadow in comparison of costs and numbers.

MOnsieur de Monts having made the Commissions and Prohibitions before said, to bee proclaimed thorow the Realme of France, and especially thorow the Ports and maritine Townes thereof, caused two shippes to bee rigged and furnished, the one under the conduct of Captaine Timothy of New-haven, the other of Captaine Morell of Honfleur. In the first, hee shipped himselfe, with good number of men of account, as well Gentlemen as others. And for as much as Monsieur de Poutrincourt was, and had beene of a long time, desirous to see those

Countries of New France, and there to finde out and choose some fit place to retire himselfe into, with his Family, Wife and Children, not meaning to be the last that should follow and participate in the glorie of so faire and generous an enterprize, would needs goe thither, and shipped himselfe with the said Monsieur de Monts, carrying with him some quantitie of Armours and Munitions of Warre; and so weighed Anchors from New-haven the seventh day of March 1604. But being departed somewhat too soone, before the Winter had yet left off her frozen Weed, they found store of Icie bankes, against the which they were in danger to strike, and so to be cast away.

The Voyage was long by reason of contrarie winds, which seldome hapneth to them that set out in March for the New-found-lands, which are ordinarily carried with an East or Northerne winde, fit to goe to those Lands. And having taken their course to the South to the Ile of Sand or Sablon, for to shunne the said Ices, they almost fell from Caribdis into Scylla, going to strike towards the said Ile, during the thicke mists that are frequent in that Sea. In the end, the sixt of May they came to a certaine Port, where they found Captaine Rossignol of New-haven, who did trucke for skinnes with the Savages, contrary to the Kings Inhibitions, which was the cause that his ship was confiscated. This Port was called Le Port du Rossignol, having (in this his hard fortune) this onely good, that a good and fit Harborough or Port, in those Coasts beareth his name.

From thence coasting and discovering the Lands, they arrived at another Port, very faire, which they named Le Port de Moutton, by reason that a Mutton or Weather having leaped over-board and drowned himselfe came aboard againe, and was taken and eaten as good prize. Neere the said Moutton Port there is a place so replenished with Rabbets and Conies, that they almost did eate nothing else. During that time Monsieur Champlein was sent with a shallop to seeke farther off a fitter place to retire

themselves, at which Exploit he tarried so long, that deliberating upon the returne, they thought to leave him behind: for there was no more victuals: and they served themselves with that, that was found in the said Rossignols ship, without which they had beene forced to returne into France, and so to breake a faire enterprize at the very birth and beginning thereof; or to starve, having ended the hunting of Conies, which could not still continue.

All New France in the end being contained in two ships, they weighed Anchors from Port du Moutton, for to imploy their time, and to discover Lands as much as might before Winter. Wee came to Cape de Sable, or the Sandie Cape; and from thence we sailed to the Bay of Saint Marie, where our men lay at Anchor fifteene dayes, whilest the Lands and passages as well by Sea as by River might be descried and knowne. This Bay is a very faire place to inhabit, because that one is readily carried thither without doubling. There are Mynes of Iron and Silver; but in no great abundance, according to the triall made thereof in France. A Priest losing his way in the Woods was missing sixteene dayes. Whereupon a Protestant was charged to have killed him because [IV. viii. 1621.] they quarrelled sometimes for matters of Religion. Finally, they sounded a Trumpet thorow the Forrest, they shot off the Canon divers times, but in vaine: for the roaring of the Sea, stronger then all that, did expell backe the sound of the said Canons and Trumpets. Two, three and foure dayes passed he appeareth not. In the meane-while the time hastens to depart, so having tarried so long that hee was then held for dead, they weighed Anchors to goe further, and to see the depth of a Bay that hath some fortie leagues length, and fourteene (yea eighteene) of breadth, which was named La Baye Francoise, or the French Bay.

La Baye Francoise.

In this Bay is the passage to come into a Port, whereinto our men entred, and made some abode, during the which they had the pleasure to hunt an Ellan, or Stagge, that

crossed a great Lake of the Sea, which maketh this Port, and did swimme but easily. This Port is environed with Mountaines on the North side: Towards the South bee small Hills, which (with the said Mountaines) doe powre out a thousand Brookes, which make that place pleasanter then any other place in the World: there are very faire falles of waters, fit to make Milles of all sorts. At the East is a River betweene the said Mountaines and Hilles, in the shippes may saile fifteene leagues and more, and in all this distance is nothing of both sides the River but faire Medowes, which River was named L'Equille, because that the first fish taken therein was an Equille. But the said Port, for the beautie thereof was called Port Royall. Monsieur de Poutrincourt having found this place to bee to his liking demanded it, with the Lands thereunto adjoyning, of Monsieur de Monts: to whom the King had by Commission, before inserted, granted the distribution of the Lands of New France from the fortieth degree to the sixe and fortieth. Which place was granted to the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt, who since hath had Letters of confirmation for the same of his Majestie, intending to retire himselfe thither with his Family, and there to establish the Christian and French Name, as much as his power shall stretch, and God grant him the meanes to accomplish it. The Port contayneth eight leagues of circuit, besides the River of L'Equille. There is within it two Iles very faire and pleasant: the one at the mouth of the said River, which I deeme to bee of the greatnesse of the Citie of Beauvais: The other at the side of the mouth of another River, as broad as the River of Oise, or Marne, entring within the said Port: The said Ile beeing almost of the greatnesse of the other: and they both are wooddie. In this Port, and right over against the former Ile, wee dwelt three yeeres after this Voyage. We will speake thereof more at large hereafter.

The River of L' Equille.

Port Royall.

A Copper Myne.

In the 28. and 29. Chap. of the second Booke of the whole Volume untranslated.

From Port Royall they sailed to the Copper Myne, whereof wee have spoken before elsewhere. It is a high

Rocke betweene two Bayes of the Sea, wherein the Copper is conjoyned with the stone, very faire and very pure, such as is that which is called Rozette Copper. Many Gold-smithes have seene of it in France, which doe say that under the Copper Myne there might be a Golden Myne: which is very probable. For if those excrements that Nature expelleth forth be so pure, namely, small pieces that are found upon the gravell at the foote of the Rocke, when it is low water, there is no doubt that the Metall which is in the bowels of the earth is much more perfect, but this is a Worke that requireth time. The first myning and working is to have Bread, Wine and Cattle, as we have said else-where. Our felicitie consisteth not in Mynes, specially of Gold and Silver, the which serve for nothing in the tillage of the ground, nor to Handicrafts use. Contrariwise, the abundance of them is but a charge and burthen, that keepeth man in perpetuall unquiet, and the more he hath thereof, the lesse rest enjoyeth he, and his life lesser assured unto him.

Things first to be provided in new plantations.

Before the Voyages of Perou great riches might have beene set up in a small place, in stead that in this our age by the abundance of Gold and silver the same is come at no value nor esteeme. One hath need of huge Chests and Coffers to put in that, which a small Budget might have contained. One might have travelled with a Purse in ones sleeve, and now a Cloke-bagge and a Horse must expresly be had for that purpose. Wee may justly curse the houre that greedie Avarice did carrie the Spaniard into the West, for the wofull events that have ensued thereof. For when I consider that by his greedinesse he hath kindled and maintayned the Warre thorow all Christendome, and his onely studie hath beene how to destroy his Neighbours (and not the Turke) I cannot thinke that any other but the Devill hath beene the Authour of their Voyages. And let not the pretence of Religion be alleaged unto mee: for (as wee have said elsewhere) they have killed all the of-spring of the Countrey with the most inhumane torments that the

Note. This French Author was a Romish Catholike, which yet speakes thus freely of the Spaniards.

Devill hath beene able to excogitate. And by their cruelties have rendred the Name of God odious, and a name of offence to those poore people, and have continually and daily basphemed him in the midst of the Gentiles as the Prophet reprocheth to the people of Israel. Witnesse him that had rather bee damned, then goe to the Paradise of the Spaniards, &c.

Esay 52. *vers.* 5. *Hathuey. see sup. Casas.*

Among these Copper Rockes there is found sometimes small Rockes covered with Diamonds fixed to them. I will not assure them for fine, but that is very pleasing to the sight. There are also certaine shining blue stones, which are of no lesse value or worth than Turkie Stones.

Diamonds.

Turkie stones.

Monsieur de Champdore our guide for the Navigations in those Countries, having cut within a Rocke one of those stones, at his returne from New France hee brake it in two, and gave one part of it to Monsieur de Monts, the other to Monsieur de Poutrincourt, which they made to be put in Gold, and were found worthy to be presented the one to the King by the said Poutrincourt, the other to the Queene by the said de Monts, and were very well accepted. I remember that a Goldsmith did offer fifteene Crownes to Monsieur de Poutrincourt for that hee presented to his Majestie.

[IV. viii. 1622.]

This River is one of the fairest that may be seene, having store of Ilands, and swarming with fishes. This last yeere 1608. the said Monsieur de Champdore, with one of the said Monsieur de Monts his men, hath beene some fiftie leagues up the said River: and doe witnesse that there is great quantitie of Vines along the shoare, but the Grapes are not so bigge as they be in the Countrie of the Armouchiquois: There are also Onions, and many other sorts of good hearbs. As for the Trees they are the fairest that may be seene. When wee were there wee saw great number of Cedar Trees. Concerning fishes the said Champdore hath related unto us, that putting the Kettle over fire, they had taken fish sufficient for their Dinner before that the water was hot. Moreover this River, stretching it selfe farre within the Lands of the

S. Johns River.

1608.

Vines.

Great Grapes among the Armouchiquois.

Abundance of fishes.

The commoditie of Voyaging by the River.

Savages doth marvellously shorten the long travels by meanes thereof. For in sixe dayes they goe to Gashepe, comming to the Bay or Gulfe of Chaleur, or heate, when they are at the end of it, in carrying their Canowes some few leagues. And by the same River in eight dayes they go to Tadoussac by a branch of the same which commeth from the North-west. In such sort that in Port Royall one may have within fifteene or eighteene dayes newes from the Frenchmen, dwelling in the great River of Canada, by these wayes: which could not be done in one moneth by Sea, nor without danger.

The Ile of S. Croix twentie leagues from S. Johns River.

Leaving Saint Johns River, they came following the Coast twentie leagues from that place, to a great River (which is properly Sea) where they fortified themselves in a little Iland seated in the middest of this River, which the said Champleine had beene to discover and view. And seeing it strong by nature, and of easie defence and keeping, besides that the season beganne to slide away, and therefore it was behoovefull to provide of lodging, without running any farther, they resolved to make their abode there.

As they began to visit and search the Iland, Monsieur de Champdore (of whom we shall henceforth make mention, by reason he dwelt foure yeere in those parts, conducting the Voyages made there) was sent backe to the Bay of Saint Mary, with a Mine-finder, that had beene carried thither for to get some Mynes of silver and Iron, which they did. And as they had crossed the French Bay,

Returne to the Bay of S. Mary, where the lost man was found againe.

they entred into the said Bay of Saint Marie, by a narrow Straite or passage, which is betweene the Land of Port Royall, and an Iland called the Long Ile: where after some abode they going a fishing, Monsieur Aubri (the Priest before lost) perceived them, and beganne with a feeble voice to call as loud as he could; and put his Handkercher, and his Hat on a staves end, which made him better to be knowne. During these sixteene daies hee fed himselfe but by (I know not what) small fruits, like unto Cheries, without kernell (yet not so delicate)

The Long Ile.

Cheries.

which are scarsly found in those Woods. They gave him food by measure, and brought him backe againe to the company at the Iland of Saint Croix, whereof every one received an incredible joy and consolation.

Before we speake of the ships returne into France, it is meete to tell you how hard the Ile of Saint Croix is to bee found out, to them that were never there. For there are so many Iles and great Bayes to goe by, before one be at it, that I wonder how ever one might pierce so farre for to finde it. There are three or foure Mountaines, imminent above the others, on the sides: But on the North side, from whence the River runneth downe, there is but a sharpe pointed one, above two leagues distant. The Woods of the maine Land are faire and admirable high and well growne, as in like manner is the grasse. There is right over against the Iland fresh water brooks, very pleasant and agreeable, where divers of Monsieur de Monts, his men did their businesse, and builded there certaine Cabanes. As for the nature of the ground it is most excellent and most abundantly fruitfull. For the said Monsieur de Monts, having caused there some piece of ground to bee tilled, and the same sowed with Rie (for I have seene there no Wheate) hee was not able to tarrie for the maturitie thereof to reape it: and notwithstanding, the graine, fallen, hath growne and increased so wonderfully that two yeeres after we reaped and did gather of it as faire, bigge and weightie, as in France, which the soile had brought forth without any tillage: and yet at this present it doth continue still to multiply every yeere. The said Iland containeth some halfe a league of circuit, and at the end of it on the Sea side, there is a Mount or small Hill, which is (as it were) a little Ile severed from the other, where Monsieur de Monts his Canon was placed: There is also a little Chappell built after the Savage fashion. At the foot of which Chappell there is such store of Muscles as is wonderfull, which may bee gathered at low water, but they are small.

The description of the Ile of Saint Croix.

The fruitfulnesse of the soyle.

The Iland halfe a league in compasse.

Store of Muscles.

Now let us prepare and hoise up sailes. Monsieur de

Poutrincourt made the Voyage into these parts with some men of good sort, not to winter there, but as it were to seeke out his seate, and find out a Land that might like him. Which he having done, had no need to sojourne there any longer. So then the ships being ready for the returne, he shipped himselfe, and those of his companie, in one of them.

[IV. viii. 1623.]

The returne of Monsieur du Poutrincourt into France.

The building at the Ile of S. Croix.

During the foresaid Navigation, Monsieur du Monts his people did worke about the Fort; which he seated at the end of the Iland, opposite to the place where he had lodged his Cannon. Which was wisely considered, to the end to command the River up and downe. But there was an inconvenience, the said Fort did lie towards the North, and without any shelter, but of the trees that were on the Ile shoare, which all about he commanded to be kept, and not cut downe.

Three discommodities in wintering at S. Croix.

The most urgent things being done, and hoary snowy Father being come, that is to say, Winter, then they were forced to keepe within doores, and to live every one at his owne home: during which time, our men had three speciall discommodities in this Iland, videlicet, want of wood, (for that which was in the said Ile was spent in buildings) lacke of fresh water, and the continuall watch made by night, fearing some surprise from the Savages, that had lodged themselves at the foot of the said Iland, or some other enemie. For the malediction and rage of many Christians is such, that one must take heed of them much more than of Infidels. A thing which grieveth me to speake: would to God I were a lyar in this respect, and that I had no cause to speake it! When they had need of water or wood, they were constrained to crosse over the River, which is thrice as broad of every side, as the River of Seine. It was a thing painfull and tedious, in such sort, that it was needfull to keepe the Boat the whole day, before one might get those necessaries. In the meane while the cold and snowes came upon them, and the Ice so strong, that the Sider was frozen in the vessels, and every one his measure was given him out by

Wickednesse of many Christians.

The River of Roan.

weight. As for Wine it was distributed but at certaine dayes of the weeke. Many idle sluggish companions dranke snow-water, not willing to take the paines to crosse the River. Briefly, the unknowne sicknesses like to those described unto us by James Quartier, in his Relation, assailed us. For remedies there was none to bee found. In the meane while the poore sicke creatures did languish, pining away by little and little, for want of sweet meates, as Milke or spoon-meate for to sustaine their stomackes which could not receive the hard meates, by reason of let, proceeding from a rotten flesh which grew and over-abounded within their mouthes: and when one thought to root it out, it did growe againe in one nights space more abundantly than before. As for the tree called Annedda, mentioned by the said Quartier, the Savages of these Lands knowe it not. So that it was most pitifull to behold every one, very few excepted, in this miserie, and the miserable sicke folkes to die, as it were full of life, without any possibilitie to be succoured. There died of this sicknesse thirty sixe, and thirty sixe or forty more that were stricken with it, recovered themselves by the helpe of the Spring, as soone as the comfortable season appeared. But the deadly season for that sicknesse is in the end of January, the moneths of February and March, wherein most commonly the sicke doe die, every one at his turne, according to the time they have begunne to be sicke: in such sort, that he which beganne to be ill in February and March, may escape, but he that shall over-haste himselfe, and betake him to his bed in December and January, he is in danger to die in February, March, or the beginning of Aprill.

Monsieur de Poutrincourt made a Negro to be opened, that died of that sicknesse in our Voyage, who was found to have the inward parts very sound, except the stomacke, that had wrinkles, as though they were ulcered.

As for the food, this sicknesse is caused by cold meates,

Unknown sicknesses, viz. the Scorbute or Scurvie, the greatest plague of Navigations and new Plantations, Fortifications and Garrisons besieged, where want of fresh diet and of bodily labour, or too much labour and watching, with grosse aires in the Countries overgrowne with wood, or with marishes, bogs and unwholesome waters are chiefe breeders thereof. The Author hath made a long discourse of this disease, the chiefe points whereof are here expressed for the benefit of our English Colonies in America in which I doubt not many hundreds have hereby perished. The number of the dead and sicke. Dangerous moneths. The opening of a dead body. What food causeth the land disease.

without juyce, grosse and corrupted. One must then take heed of salt meates, smoaky, musty, raw, and of an evill sent, likewise of dried fishes, as New-found-Land fish, and stinking Rayes: Briefly, from all melancholy meates, which are of hard digesting, are easily corrupted, and breed a grosse and melancholy bloud. I would not (for all that) bee so scrupulous as the Physicians, which doe put in number of grosse and melancholy meates, Beeves flesh, Beares, wilde Boares and Hogs flesh (they might as well adde unto them Beavers flesh, which notwithstanding wee have found very good) as they doe amongst fishes the Tons, Dolphins, and all those that carrie Lard: among the birds, the Hernes, Duckes, and all other water birds: for in being an over-curious observator of these things, one might fal into the danger of starving, and to die for hunger. They place yet among the meats that are to be shunned Bisket, Beanes and Pulse, the often using of Milke, Cheese: the grosse and harsh Wine, and that which is too small, white Wine, and the use of Vinegar: Beere which is not well sodden, nor well scummed, and that hath not Hoppes enough. Also waters that runne thorow rotten wood, and those of Lakes and Bogges, still and corrupted waters, such as is much in Holland and Frizeland, where is observed that they of Amsterdam are more subject to Palsies and stifning of sinews, then they of Roterdam, for the abovesaid cause of still and sleepy waters: which besides doe ingender Dropsies, Dysenteries, Fluxes, quartaine Agues, and burning Fevers, swellings, ulcers of the Lights, shortnesse of breath, ruptures of children, swelling in the veines, sores in the legges: finally, they wholly belong to the disease whereof we speake, being drawne by the Spleene, where they leave all their corruption.

Bad waters.

Sometimes this sicknesse doth also come by a vice which is even in waters of running Fountaines, as if they be among, or neere Bogges, or if they issue from a muddy ground, or from a place that hath not the Sunnes aspect.

[IV. viii. 1624.]

So Plinie reciteth that in the Voyage which the Prince Cæsar Germanicus made into Germanie, having given order to his Armie to passe the River of Rhine, to the end to get still forward in the Countrie, he did set his campe on the Sea shoare, upon the coast of Frizeland, in a place where was but one onely Fountaine of fresh water to bee found, which notwithstanding was so pernicious, that all they that dranke of it lost their teeth in lesse than two yeeres space, and had their knees so weake and disjoynted, that they could not beare themselves. Which is verily the sicknessse whereof wee speake, which the Physicians doe call Stomaccacè, that is to say, Mouthes sore; and Scelotyrbè, which is as much to say, as the shaking of thighs and legges. And it was not possible to finde any remedie, but by the meanes of an herbe called Britannica, or Scurvy grasse, which besides is very good for the sinewes, against the sores and accidents in the mouth: against the Squinancie, and against the biting of Serpents. It hath long leaves, drawing in colour a darke greene, and produceth a blacke roote, from which liquor is drawne, as well as from the leafe. Strabo sayth, that the like case happened to the Armie that Ælius Gallus brought into Arabia, by the commission of Augustus the Emperour. And the like also chanced to King Saint Lewes his Armie in Egypt, as the Lord de Joinville reporteth. Other effects of bad waters are seene neere unto us, to wit, in Savoy, where the women (more than men, because they are of a colder constitution) have commonly swellings in their throats, as bigge as Bottles.

Plin. lib. 25. c. 3.

Stomaccacè.

Scelotyroè.

Britannica, or Scurvy-grasse, an herbe.

Strabo.

Monsieur de Joinville.

The Gouitres of Savoye.

Next to waters, the aire is also one of the Fathers and Ingenderers of this sicknesse, in boggy and watrish places, and opposite to the South, which is most often rainy. But there is yet in New France another bad qualitie of the aire, by reason of Lakes that be thicke there, and of the great rottennesse in the Woods, whose odour the bodies having drawne up, during the raines of Autumne and Winter, easily are ingendred the corruptions of the mouth, and swelling in the legges before spoken, and a cold entreth

What aire is against health.

unsensibly into it, which benummeth the limbes, stifneth the sinews, constraineth to creepe with crutches, and in the end, to keepe the bed. And for as much as the windes doe participate with the aire, yea are an aire running with a more vehement force than ordinary, and in this qualitie have great power over the health and sicknesses of men. This noisome qualitie of winde proceedeth (in my judgement) from the nature of the Countrie thorow which it passeth, which (as wee have said) is full of Lakes, and those very great, which bee (as it were) standing and still waters. Whereto I adde the exhalation of the rottennesse of woods, that this winde bringeth, and that in so much greater quantitie, as the North-west part is great, large and spacious.

Windes.

Seasons.

The seasons are also to be marked in this disease, which I have not seene nor heard of, that it begins to worke, neither in the Spring time, Summer nor Autumne, unlesse it be at the end of it, but in Winter. And the cause thereof is, that as the growing heate of the Spring maketh the humours closed up in the Winter to disperse themselves to the extremities of the body, and so cleareth it from melancholy and from the noisome humors that have beene gathered in Winter: so the Autumne, as the Winter approacheth, draweth them inward, and doth nourish this melancholy and blacke humour, which doth abound specially in this season, and the Winter being come sheweth forth his effects at the costs and griefe of the poore patients.

Bad food and discommodities of the Sea.

Advice for the sicknesses of New France.

I would adde willingly to all the aforesaid causes the bad food of the Sea, which in a long Voiage brings much corruption in mans body. This sicknesse proceeding from an indigestion of rude, grosse, cold and melancholy meates, which offend the stomacke, I thinke it good (submitting my selfe to better judgement and advice) to accompany them with good sawces, be it of Butter, Oyle, or Fat, all well spiced, to correct as well the qualitie of the meate, as of the bodie inwardly waxen cold. Let this be said for rude and grosse meates, as Beanes, Pease, and fish:

for he that shall eate good Capons, good Partridges, good Ducks, and good Rabets, may be assured of his health, or else his body is of a bad constitution. We have had some sick, that have (as it were) raised up from death to life: for having eaten twice or thrice of a coolice made of a Cocke, good Wine taken according to the necessitie of nature, is a soveraigne preservative for all sicknesses, and particularly for this. The young buds of herbs in the Spring time be also very soveraigne.

Good Wine.

Herbes in the Spring time.

And as for that which concerneth the exteriour parts of the body, we have found great good in wearing woodden Pantaphles, or Patins with our shooes, for to avoide the moistnesse. The houses neede no opening nor windowes on the North-west side, being a winde very dangerous: but rather on the East side, or the South. It is very good to have good bedding (and it was good for mee to have carried things necessary to this purpose) and above all to keepe himselfe neate. I would like well the use of Stoves, such as they have in Germanie, by meanes whereof they feele no Winter, being at home, but as much as they please. Yea, they have of them in many places, in their Gardens, which doe so temper the coldnesse of Winter, that in this rough and sharpe season there one may see Orange-trees, Lymmon-trees, Fig-trees, Pomgranat-trees, and all such sorts of trees, bring forth fruit as good as in Provence.

Stoves.

Stoves in Gardens. Such I have seene at Beddington in Surrie, at Sir Nicolas Carews.

The Savages use sweatings often, as it were every moneth, and by this meanes they preserve themselves, driving out by sweate all the cold and evill humours they might have gathered. But one singular preservative against this perfidious sicknesse, which commeth so stealingly, and which having once lodged it selfe within us, will not bee put out, is to follow the counsell of him that is wise amongst the wise, who having considered all the afflictions that man give to himselfe during his life, hath found nothing better then to rejoyce himselfe, and doe good, and to take pleasure in his owne workes. They that have done so, in our companie, have found themselves

The Sweatings of the Savages.

[IV. viii. 1625.] *A merry heart a principall preservative against the Scurvie. Eccles.* 3. 12, 22.

well by it: contrariwise some alwaies grudging, repining, never content, idle, have beene found but by the same disease. True it is, that for to enjoy mirth it is good to have the sweetnesse of fresh meates, Fleshes, Fishes, Milke, Butter, Oyles, Fruits, and such like, which wee had not at will (I meane the common sort: for alwaies some one, or other of the companie did furnish Monsieur de Poutrincourt, his Table with Wilde-fowle, Venison or fresh Fish) And if wee had halfe a dozen Kine, I beleeve that no body had died there.

Meanes of mirth.

Necessitie of having women into the Countrey.

It resteth a preservative, necessary for the accomplishment of mirth, and to the end one may take pleasure on the worke of his hands, is every one to have the honest companie of his lawfull wife: for without that, the cheere is never perfect; ones minde is alwaies upon that which one loves and desireth; there is still some sorrow, the body becomes full of ill humours, and so the sicknesse doth breed. And for the last and soveraigne remedie, I send backe the Patient to the tree of life (for so one may well qualifie it) which James Quartier doth call Anneda, yet unknowne in the coast of Port Royall, unlesse it bee, peradventure the Sasafras, whereof there is quantitie in certaine places. And it is an assured thing, that the said tree is very excellent. But Monsieur Champlain, who is now in the great River of Canada, passing his Winter, in the same part, where the said Quartier did winter, hath charge to finde it out, and to make provision thereof.

Tree of life.

Sasafras.

Monsieur Champlain is now this present yeere 1609. in Canada.

The discoverie of new Lands by Monsieur de Monts: fabulous tales and reports of the River and fained Towne of Norombega.

THe rough season being passed, Monsieur de Monts, wearied with his bad dwelling at Saint Croix, determined to seeke out another Port in a warmer Countrie, and more to the South: And to that end made a Pinnace to bee armed and furnished with victuals, to follow the coast, and discovering new Countries, to seeke out some happier Port in a more temperate aire. Hee made in this Voyage but about an hundred and twenty leagues, as wee will tell you now. From Saint Croix to sixty leagues forward, the coast lieth East and West: at

the end of which sixty leagues is a River, called by the Savages Kinibeki. From which place to Malebarre it lieth North and South, and there is yet from one to the other sixty leagues, in right line, not following the Bayes. So farre stretcheth Monsieur de Monts his Voyage, wherein hee had for Pilot in his Vessell, Monsieur de Champdore. In all this Coast so farre as Kinibeki, there are many places where shippes may bee harboured amongst the Ilands, but the people there is not so frequent as is beyond that: And there is no remarkable thing (at least that may bee seene in the outside of the Lands) but a River, whereof many have written fables one after another.

Kinibeki sixty leagues from S. Croix.

I will recite that which is in the last Booke, intituled, The universall Historie of the West Indies, Printed at Douay the last yeere 1607. in the place where hee speaketh of Norombega: For in reporting this, I shall have also said that which the first have written, from whom they have had it.

Moreover, towards the North (sayth the Authour, after hee had spoken of Virginia) is Norombega, which is knowne well enough, by reason of a faire Towne, and a great River, though it is not found from whence it hath his name: for the Barbarians doe call it Aguncia: At the mouth of this River there is an Iland very fit for fishing. The Region that goeth along the Sea, doth abound in fish, and towards New France there is great number of wilde beasts, and is very commodious for hunting; the Inhabitants doe live in the same manner as they of New France.

Fabulous tales of the River Norombega.

If this beautifull Towne hath ever beene in nature, I would faine knowe who hath pulled it downe: For there is but Cabins heere and there made with pearkes, and covered with barkes of trees, or with skinnes, and both the River and the place inhabited is called Pemptegoet, and not Agguncia. The River (saving the tide) is scarce as the River on that coast, because there are not Lands sufficient to produce them, by reason of the great River of Canada, which runneth like this coast, and is not foure-

Pemptegoet.

score leagues distant from that place in crossing the Lands, which from else-where received many Rivers falling from those parts which are towards Norombega: At the entrie whereof, it is so farre from having but one Iland, that rather the number thereof is almost infinite, for as much as this River enlarging it selfe like the Greeke Lambda Λ, the mouth whereof is all full of Iles, whereof there is one of them lying very farre off (and the formost) in the Sea, which is high and markable above the others.

But some will say that I equivocate in the situation of Norombega, and that it is not placed where I take it. *Objection.* To this I answer, that the Author, whose words I have *Answer.* a little before alleaged, is in this my sufficient warrant, who in his Geographicall Mappe, hath placed in the mouth of this River in the 44. degree, and his supposed Towne in the 45. wherein we differ but in one degree, which is a small matter. For the River that I meane is in the 45. degree, and as for any Towne, there is none. Now of necessity it must be this river, because that the same being passed, and that of Kinibeki, (which is in the same higth) there is no other River forward, whereof account [IV. viii. should be made, till one come to Virginia. I say further- 1626.] more, that seeing the Barbarians of Norombega doe live as they of new France, and have abundance of hunting, it must be, that their Province be seated in our new France; for fiftie leagues farther to the South-west there is no great game, because the woods are thinner there, and the Inhabitants setled, and in greater number then in Norombega.

The River of Norombega being passed, Monsieur de *Kinibeki.* Monts went still coasting, untill he came to Kinibeki, where a River is that may shorten the way to goe to the great River of Canada. There is a number of Savages Cabined there, and the land beginneth there to be better peopled. From Kinibeki going farther, one findeth the *The Bay of Marchin.* Bay of Marchin, named by the Captaine his name that commandeth therein. This Marchin was killed the yeare 1607. that we parted from New France 1607. Farther is another

Bay called Chouakoet, where (in regard of the former Countries) is a great number of people: for there they till the ground, and the region beginneth to be more temperate, and for proofe of this, there is in this land store of Vines. Yea, even there be Ilands full of it (which be more subject to the injuries of the winde and cold) as we shall say hereafter. There is betweene Chouakoet and Malebarre many Bayes and Iles, and the Coast is sandy, with shallow ground, drawing neere to the said Malebarre, so that scarce one may land there with Barkes.

Chouakoet.

The ground manured.

Vines.

Malebarre.

The people that be from Saint Johns River to Kinibeki (wherein are comprised the Rivers of Saint Croix and Norombega) are called Etchemins. And from Kinibeki as farre as Malebarre, and farther, they are called Armouchiquois. They be traitors and theeves, and one had neede to take heede of them. One of them from a man of Saint Malos tooke a Kettell, and ran away speedily with his bootie. The Malouin running after, was killed by this wicked people: and although the same had not hapned, it was in vaine to pursue after this theefe; for all these Armouchiquois are as swift in running as Grayhounds; as we will yet further say in speaking of the voiage that Monsieur de Poutrincourt made in the same Country, in the yeare 1606.

Etechemins.

The Armouchiquois traitours and theeves.

The swiftnesse of the Armouchiquois.

The Spring season being passed in the Voyage of the Armouchiquois, Mounsieur du Pont, surnamed Grave, dwelling at Honfleur, did arrive with a company of some forty men, for to ease the said Monsieur de Monts and his troope, which was to the great joy of all, as one may well imagine: and Canon shots were free and plentifull at the comming, according to custome, and the sound of Trumpets. The said Monsieur du Pont, not knowing yet the state of our French men, did thinke to finde there an assured dwelling, and his lodgings ready: but considering the accidents of the strange sicknesse, whereof we have spoken, he tooke advice to change place. Monsieur de Monts was very desirous that the new habitation had beene about 40. degrees, that is to say 4.

The arrivall of Monsieur du Point. 1605.

degrees farther then Saint Croix: but having viewed the Coast as farre as Malebarre, and with much paine, not finding what he desired, it was deliberated to goe and make their dwelling in Port Royall, untill meanes were had to make an ampler discovery. So every one began to packe up his things: That which was built with infinite labour was pulled downe, except the Store-house, which was too great and painefull to be transported, and in executing of this, many voyages are made. All being come to Port Royal they found out new labours: the abiding place is chosen right over against the Iland, that is at the comming in of the River L'Esquille, in a place where all is covered over, and full of woods as thicke as possibly may be. The Moneth of September did already begin to come, and care was to be taken for the unlading of Monsieur du Pont his Ship, to make roome for them that should returne backe into France. Finally, there is worke enough for all. When the Ship was in a readinesse to put to sailes, Monsieur de Monts having seene the beginning of the new habitation, shipped himselfe for his returne with them that would follow him. Notwithstanding many of good courage (forgetting the griefes and labours passed) did tarry behinde, amongst whom were Monsieur Champlaine and Monsieur Champdore, the one for Geographie, and the other for the conducting and guiding of the voiages that should be necessary to be made by Sea.

Transmigration from S. Croix to Port Royal.

New buildings.

Trafficke with the Savages.

Bevers, Otters, and Stags.

Tabaguia is a savage tearme, signifying banket.

The Winter being come, the Savages of the Countrey did assemble themselves, from farre to Port Royall, for to trucke with the Frenchmen, for such things as they had, some bringing Beavers skins and Otters (which are those whereof most account may be made in that place) and also Ellans or Stagges, whereof good buffe be made: Others bringing flesh newly killed, wherewith they made many good Tabagies, or feasts, living merrily as long as they had wherewithall. They never wanted any Bread, but Wine did not continue with them till the season was ended. For when we came thither the yeare following,

they had beene about three Moneths without any Wine, and were very glad of our comming, for that made them to take againe the taste of it.

The greatest paine they had, was to grinde the Corne to have Bread, which is very painfull with hand-mils, *Hand Mils.* where all the strength of the body is requisite. This labour is so great, that the Savages (although they be very poore) cannot beare it, and had rather to be without bread, then to take so much paines, as hath beene tried, offering them halfe of the grinding they should doe, but they choosed rather to have no corne. And I might well beleeve that the same, with other things, hath beene great meanes to breede the sicknesse spoken of, in some of Monsieur du Pont his men: for there died some halfe [IV. viii. 1627.] a dozen of them that winter. True it is, that I finde a defect in the buildings of our Frenchmen, which is, they had no ditches about them, whereby the waters of the ground next to them did run under their lower-most roomes, which was a great hindrance to their health. I adde besides the bad waters which they used, that did not run from a quicke spring, but from the neerest brooke.

The number of the dead.

Fault in their buildings.

The winter being passed, and the Sea navigable, *The furniture of Monsieur du Pont to goe to the discovery of new lands.* Monsieur du Pont would needes atchieve the enterprise begun the yeare before by Monsieur de Monts, and to goe seeke out a Port more Southerly, where the ayre might be more temperate, according as he had in charge of the said Monsieur de Monts. He furnished then the Barke which remained with him to that effect. But being set out of the Port, and full ready, hoisted up sailes for Malebarre, he was forced by contrary winde twice to put backe againe, and at the third time the said Barke strake against the rocks at the entry of the said *The wracke of their Barke.* Port. In this disgrace of Neptune, the men were saved with the better part of provision and merchandise; but as for the Barke it was rent in peeces. And by this mishap the Voyage was broken, and that which was so desired intermitted. For the habitation of Port Royall was not judged good. And notwithstanding it is, on the North

Causes of delay in establishing the dwelling place of the Frenchmen.

and North-west sides, well sheltered with Mountaines, distant some one league, some halfe a league from the Port and the River L'Esquelle. So we see how that enterprises take not effect according to the desires of men, and are accompanied with many perils. So that one must not wonder if the time be long in establishing of Colonies, specially in lands so remote, whose nature, and temperature of aire is not knowne, and where one must fell and cut downe Forrests, and be constrained to take heed, not from the people we call Savages, but from them that tearme themselves Christians, and yet have but the name of it, cursed and abhominable people, worse then Wolves, enemies to God and humane nature.

This attempt then being broken, Monsieur du Pont knew not what to doe, but to attend the succour and supply that Monsieur de Monts promised parting from Port Royall, at his return into France, to send him the yeare following. Yet for all events he built another Barke and a Shallop for to seeke French Ships in the places where they use to dry fish, such as Campsean Port, English Port, Misamichis Port: the Bay of Chaleur (or Heat) the Bay of Morves or Coddes, and others in great number, according as Monsieur de Monts had done the former yeare, to the end to Ship himselfe in them, and to returne into France, in case that no Shippe should come to succour him.

The third voyage made by Monsieur de Poutrincourt.

ABout the time of the before mentioned Shipwracke, Monsieur de Monts being in France, knowing Monsieur de Poutrincourt his desire, he wrote unto him, and sent a man of purpose to give him notice of the Voyage that was in hand. Which the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt accepted of. He was no sooner come to Paris, but that he was forced to depart, not having scarse time to provide for things necessary. And I having had that good hap to be acquainted with him some yeares before, he asked me if I would take part in that businesse?

Rochel.

Being come to Rochell, we found there Monsieur de

Monts, and Monsieur de Poutrincourt, that were come in Poste, and our Ship called the Jonas, of the burthen of one hundred and fiftie tuns, ready to passe out of the chaines of the Towne, to tarry for winde and tide. The tyde I say, because that a great Ship laden, cannot come to sea from Rochell, but in spring tydes, upon the new and full Moone, by reason that in the Towne roade there is no sufficient depth. I beleeve, that after so many trials, none would have ventured to goe plant Colonies in those parts, that Countrey being so ill spoken of, that every one did pittie us, considering the accidents happened to them that had beene there before. Notwithstanding Monsieur de Monts and his associates, did beare manfully this losse. *The courage of Monsieur de Monts and his associates.*

The Saturday, Whitson eve, the thirteenth of May, we weied our anckers, and sailed in open Sea, so that by little and little we lost the sight of the great Towers and Towne of Rochell, then of the Iles of Rez and Oleron, bidding France fare-well. It was a thing fearefull for them that were not used to such a dance, to see them carried upon so moveable an element, and to be at every moment (as it were) within two fingers breadth to death. We had not long sailed, but that many did their endevour to yeelde up the tribute to Neptune. In the meane while we went still forward, for there was no more going backe, the planke being once taken up. The sixteenth of May we met with thirteene Holanders, going for Spaine, which did inquire of our voiage, and so held their course. *13. of May 1606.* *Meetings of Ships.*

About the eighteenth day of June, we found the Sea-water, during three dayes space, very warme, and by the same warmth, our Wine also was warme in the bottome of our Ship, yet the ayre was not hotter then before. And the one and twentieth of the said Moneth, quite contrary, we were two or three dayes so much compassed with Mistes and Coldes, that wee thought our selves to be in the moneth of January, and the water of the Sea was extreame cold. Which continued with us untill we came upon the said Banke, by reason of the said Mists, *Great cold.*

The reason of this Antiperistase, and the cause of the Ices of New-found-land.

which outwardly did procure this cold unto us. When I seeke out the cause of this Antiperistase, I attribute it to the Ices of the North, which come floting downe upon the Coast and Sea adjoyning to New-found-land, and Labrador, which we have said elsewhere, is brought thither with the Sea, by her naturall motion, which is greater there, then elsewhere, because of the great space it hath to run, as in a gulfe, in the depth of America, where the nature and situation of the universall earth doth beare it easily. Now these Ices (which sometimes are seene in bankes of ten leagues length, and as high as Mountaines and hils, and thrice as deepe in the waters) holding, as it were, an Empire in this Sea, drive out farre from them, that which is contrary to their coldnesse, and consequently doe binde and close on this side, that small quantity of milde temperature that the Summer may bring to that part, where they come to seate and place themselves.

Warnings neere the great Banke.

Before we come to the Banke, which is the great Banke where the fishing of greene Cod-fishes is made (so are they called when they are not dry, for one must goe aland for the drying of them) the Sea-faring-men, besides the computation they make of their course, have warnings when they come neere to it, by Birds, which are knowne: even as one doth them of these our parts, returning backe into France, when one is within one hundred or one hundred and twenty leagues neere it. The most frequent of these Birds, towards the said Bankes, be Godes, Fouquets, and other called Happe-foyes.

Birds called by Frenchmen, Godes, Fouquets, Hapfoies.

The Banke whereof we speake, are Mountaines grounded in the depth of the waters, which are raised up to thirty, six and thirty, and forty fathams, neere to the upper face of the Sea. This Banke is holden to be of two hundred leagues in length, and is eighteene, twenty, and twenty foure leagues broad, which being passed, there is no more bottome found out, then in these parts, untill one come to the land. The Ships being there arrived, the sailes are rowled up, and there fishing is made for the greene-

fish. There is farther off, other Bankes, as I have marked in the said Map, upon the which good fishing may be made: and many goe thither that know the places. When that we parted from Rochel, there was (as it were) a Forrest of Ships lying at Chef de Bois (whereof that place hath taken his name) which went all in a company to that Country, preventing us (in their going) but onely of two daies.

Having seene and noted the Banke, we hoisted up sailes and bare all night, keeping still our Coast to the West. But the dawne of day being come, which was Saint John Baptist's Eve, in Gods name we pulled downe the sailes, passing that day a fishing of Cod-fish, with a thousand mirths and contentments, by reason of fresh meates, whereof we had as much as we would, having long before wished for them. Monsieur de Poutrincourt, and a yong man of Retel named Le Fleure, who by reason of the Sea-sicknesse were not come out from their beds nor Cabines, from the beginning of the Navigation, came upon the hatches that day, and had the pleasure not onely of fishing of Cod, but also of those Birds, that be called by the French Marriners Hapfoyes, that is to say, Liver-catchers, because of their greedinesse to devoure the livers of the Cod-fishes that are cast into the Sea, after their bellies be opened, whereof they are so covetous, that though they see a great Powle over their heads, ready to strike them downe, yet they adventure themselves to come neere to the Ship, to catch some of them, at what price soever. And they which were not occupied in fishing, did passe their time in that sport. And so did they, by their diligence, that we tooke some thirty of them.

The fishing of Cod.

Hap-foyes, why so called.

In this fishing, we sometimes did take Sea-dogs, whose skins our Joyners did keepe carefully to smooth their worke withall. Item, fishes called by Frenchmen Merlus, which be better then Cod, and sometimes another kinde of fish, called Bars; which diversity did augment our delight. They which were not busie in taking neither Fishes nor Birds, did passe their time in gathering the

Sea-dogs skins.

hearts, guts, and other inward parts (most delicate) of the Cod-fish, which they did mince with lard and spices, and with those things did make as good Bolonia Sausiges, as any can be made in Paris, and we did eate of them with a very good stomacke.

Excellent sawsiges made with the inwards of Cod.

From the eighteenth of June untill we did arrive at Port Royal, we have found the weather quite otherwise to that we had before. For (as we have already said) we had cold mists or fogs, before our comming to the Banke (where we came in faire sunshine) but the next day, we fell to the fogs againe, which (a farre off) we might perceive to come and wrap us about, holding us continually prisoners three whole dayes, for two dayes of faire weather that they permitted us: which was alwayes accompanied with cold, by reason of the Summers absence. Yea even divers we have seene our selves a whole sennight, continually in thicke fogges, twice without any shew of Sunne, but very little, as I will recite hereafter. And I will bring forth a reason for such effects which seemeth unto me probable. As wee see the fire to draw the moistnesse of a wet cloth, opposite unto it; likewise the Sunne draweth moistnesse and vapours both from the Sea and from the land. But for the dissolving of them, there is here one vertue, and beyond those parts another, according to the accidents and circumstances that are found. In these our Countries it raiseth up vapours onely from the ground, and from our Rivers: which earthly vapours, grosse and waighty, and participating lesse of the moist ellement, doe cause us a hot aire, and the earth discharged of those vapours, becomes thereby more hot and parching. From thence it commeth, that the said vapours, having the earth on the one part, and the Sunne on the other, which heateth them, they are easily dissolved, not remaining long in the ayre, unlesse it be in winter, when the earth is waxen cold, and the Sunne beyond the Equinoctiall line, farre off from us. From the same reason proceedeth the cause why Mists and Fogs be not so frequent, nor so long in the French Seas, as the New-found-land, because that

The weather in those Seas contrary then in ours.

The causes of Mists on the West Seas.

[IV. viii. 1629.]

the Sunne, passing from his rising, above the grounds, this Sea, at the comming thereof, receiveth almost but earthly vapours, and by a long space retaineth this vertue to dissolve very soone the exhalation it draweth to it selfe. But when it commeth to the middest of the Ocean, and to the said New-found-land, having elevated and assumed in so long a course a great abundance of vapours, from this moist wide Ocean, it doth not so easily dissolve them, as well because those vapours be cold of themselves, and of their nature, as because the element which is neerest under them, doth simpathize with them, and preserveth them, and the Sunne beames being not holpen in the dissolving of them, as they are upon the earth. Which is even seene in the land of that Countrie, which (although it hath but small heate, by reason of the abundance of woods) notwithstanding it helpeth to disperse the Mists and Fogges, which be ordinarily there, in the morning, during Summer, but not as at Sea, for about eight a clocke in the morning they begin to vanish away, and serve as a dew to the ground.

The eight and twentieth day of June, we found our selves upon a small banke (other then the great Banke whereof we have spoken) at forty fathams. From that time forward, we began to descry land-markes (it was New-found-land) by hearbes, mosses, flowers, and peeces of wood, that we alwaies met, abounding the more, by so much wee drew neere to it. The fourth day of July, our sailers, which were appointed for the last quarter watch, descried in the morning, very early, every one being yet in bed, the Iles of Saint Peter. And the Friday the seventh of the said Moneth, we discovered, on the Larboord, a Coast of land, high raised up. Even our Dogs did thrust their noses out of the Ship, better to draw and smell the sweet ayre of the land, not being able to containe themselves from witnessing, by their gestures, the joy they had of it. We drew within a league neere unto it, and (the sailes being let downe) we fell a fishing of Cod, the fishing of the Banke beginning to faile. They

Land markes.

The discovery of S. Peters Ilands.

Plaine discovery of the Land.

which had before us made voyages in those parts, did judge us to be at Cape Breton. The night drawing on, we stood off to the Sea-ward: the next day following, being the eight of the said moneth of July, as we drew neere to the Bay of Campseau, came, about the evening, mists, which did continue eight whole dayes, during the which we kept us at Sea, hulling still, not being able to goe forward, being resisted by West and South-west windes. During these eight dayes, which were from one Saturday to another, God (who hath alwayes guided these voyages, in the which not one man hath been lost by Sea) shewed us his speciall favour, in sending unto us, among the thicke fogges, a clearing of the Sunne, which continued but halfe an hour: And then had we sight of the firme land, and knew that we were ready to be cast away upon the rockes, if wee had not speedily stood off to Sea-ward. Finally, upon Saturday, the fifteenth of July, about two a clocke in the afternoone, the skie began to salute us, as it were, with Cannon shots, shedding teares, as being sorry to have kept us so long in paine. So that faire weather being come againe, we saw comming straight to us (we being foure leagues off from the land) two Shallops with open sailes, in a Sea yet wrathed. This thing gave us much concent. But whilst we followed on our course, there came from the land odors uncomparable for sweetnesse, brought with a warme winde, so abundantly, that all the Orient parts could not procure greater abundance. We did stretch out our hands, as it were to take them, so palpable were they, which I have admired a thousand times since. Then the two Shallops did approach, the one manned with Savages, who had a Stagge painted at their sailes, the other with Frenchmen of Saint Maloes, which made their fishing at the Port of Camseau, but the Savages were more diligent, for they arrived first. Having never seene any before, I did admire, at the first sight, their faire shape, and forme of visage. One of them did excuse himselfe, for that he had not brought his faire bever gowne, because the weather had beene foule. He

Cap. Breton.

The Bay of Campseau. Eight daies.

Gods favour in danger.

Calm weather.

Morveilous odours comming from the land.

The boording of two Shallops.

The Savages goodly men.

had but one red peece of Frize upon his backe, and Matachiaz about his necke, at his wrists, above the elbow, and at his girdle. We made them to eate and drinke. During that time they told us all that had passed, a yeare before, at Port Royal whither we were bound. In the meane while they of Saint Maloe came, and told us as much as the Savages had. Adding that the wednesday, when that we did shun the rockes, they had seene us, and would have come to us with the said Savages, but that they left off, by reason we put to the Sea: and moreover that it had beene alwayes faire weather on the land: which made us much to marvell: but the cause thereof hath beene shewed before. These Frenchmen of Saint Maloe were men that did deale for the associates of Monsieur de Monts, and did complaine that the Baskes, or men of Saint John de Lus (against the King his Inhibitions) had trucked with the Savages, and carried away above six thousand Beavers skins. They gave us sundry sorts of their fishes, as Bars, Marlus, and great Fletans.

Matachiaz be carkanets, necklaces bracelets and wrought girdles.

During the mists at Sea, it is faire wether on land.

At the parting, some number of ours went aland at the Port of Campseau, as well to fetch us some wood and fresh water, whereof we had neede, as for to follow the Coast from that place to Port Royall in a Shallop, for we did feare least Monsieur de Pont should be at our comming thither already gone from thence. The Savages made offer to goe to him thorow the woods, with promise to be there within six dayes, to advertise him of our comming, to the end to cause his stay, for as much as word was left with him to depart, unlesse hee were succoured within the sixteenth day of that moneth, which he failed not to doe: notwithstanding our men desirous to see the Land neerer, did hinder the same which promised us to bring unto us the next day the said wood and water, if wee would approch neere the Land, which wee did not, but followed on our course.

The departing of some of our company, going aland.

The Savages do travell much way in small time.

[IV. viii. 1630.]

Tuesday the seventeenth of July, wee were according to our accustomed manner, surprized with mists and contrarie wind. But the Thursday wee had calme

Mists. *Calmes.* weather, so that whether it were mist or faire weather wee went nothing forward. After this calme wee had two dayes of fogges. The Sunday the three and twentieth of the said moneth, wee had knowledge of the Port Du Rossignoll, and the same day in the afternoone, the Sunne shining faire, we cast Anchor at the mouth of Port du Mouton, and we were in danger to fall upon a shoald, being come to two fathomes and a halfe depth. We went aland seventeene of us in number, to fetch the wood and water, whereof we had need. There we found the Cabins and Lodgings, yet whole and unbroken, that Monsieur de Monts made two yeeres before, who had sojourned there by the space of one moneth, as we have said in his place. We saw there, being a sandy Land, store of Okes, bearing Acornes, Cypresse-trees, Firre-trees, Bay-trees, Muske-roses, Goose-berries, Purslen, Raspies, Fernes, Lysimachia, (a kind of Sammonee) Calamus odoratus, Angelica, and other Simples, in the space of two houres that wee tarried there. Wee brought backe in our ship wilde Peaze, which we found good. We had not the leisure to hunt after Rabets that be there in great number, not farre from the Port, but we returned aboord as soone as we had laden our selves with water and wood: and so hoised up sailes.

Port au Rossignoll. *Port au Mouton.* *What growes in the Land at Port au Mouton.*

Le Cap. de Sable. *Long Iland.* *The Bay of S. Mary.* *The arriving to Port Royall.* Tuesday the five and twentieth day we were about the Cap de Sable, in faire weather, and made a good journey, for about the evening we came to sight of Long Ile, and the Bay of Saint Marie, but because of the night we put back to the Seaward. And the next day we cast Anchor at the mouth of Port Royall, where wee could not enter by reason it was ebbing water, but we gave two Canon shot from our ship to salute the said Port, and to advertize the Frenchmen that we were there.

Difficulties in comming in. Thursday the seven and twentieth of July, we came in with the floud, which was not without much difficultie, for that we had the wind contrarie, and gusts of wind from the Mountains, which made us almost to strike upon the Rockes. And in these troubles our ship bare

still contrarie, the Poope before, and sometimes turned round, not being able to do any other thing else. Finally, being in the Port, it was unto us a thing marvellous to see the faire distance and largenesse of it, and the Mountaines and Hils that invironed it, and I wondred how so faire a place did remayne desert, being all filled with Woods, seeing that so many pine away in the World, which might make good of this Land, if onely they had a chiefe Governour to conduct them thither. We knew not yet, if Monsieur du Pont was gone or no, and therefore wee did expect that hee should send some men to meete us; but it was in vaine: for hee was gone from thence twelve dayes before. And whilest we did hull in the middest of the Port Membertou, the greatest Sagamos of the Souriquois (so are the people called with whom we were) came to the French Fort, to them that were left there, being only two, crying as a mad man, saying in his Language; What! You stand here a dining (for it was about noone) and doe not see a great ship that commeth here; and we know not what men they are: Suddenly these two men ranne upon the Bulwarke, and with diligence made readie the Canons, which they furnished with Pellets and touch Powder. Membertou, without delay, came in a Canow made of barkes of trees, with a Daughter of his, to view us: And having found but friendship, and knowing us to be Frenchmen, made no alarme. Notwithstanding one of the two Frenchmen left there, called La Taille, came to the shoare of the Port, his match on the cocke, to know what we were (though he knew it well enough, for we had the white Banner displayed at the top of the Mast) and on the sudden foure volley of Canons were shot off, which made innumerable echoes: And from our part, the Fort was saluted with three Canon shots, and many Musket shots, at which time our Trumpeter was not slacke of his dutie. Then we landed, viewed the house, and we passed that day in giving God thankes, in seeing the Savages Cabins, and walking thorow the Medowes. But I cannot but

The beautie of the Port.

Sagamos signifieth Captaine.

Praises of the two Frenchmen left alone in Fort of Port Royall.

praise the gentle courage of these two men, one of them I have alreadie named, the other is called Miquelot: which deserve well to be mentioned here, for having so freely exposed their lives in the conservation of the welfare of New France. For Monsieur du Pont having but one Barke and a Shallop, to seeke out towards New-found-land, for French shippes, could not charge himselfe with so much furniture, Corne, Meate, and Merchandises as were there; which he had bin forced to cast into the Sea (and which had bin greatly to our prejudice, and we did feare it very much) if these two men had not adventured themselves to tarrie there, for the preserving of those things, which they did with a willing and joyfull minde.

The tilling of the ground.

The Friday, next day after our arrivall, Monsieur de Poutrincourt affected to this Enterprize, as for himselfe, put part of his people to worke in the tillage and manuring of the ground, whilest the others were employed in making cleane of the Chambers, and every one to make readie that which belonged to his Trade. In the meane time those people of ours that had left us at Campseau, to come along the Coast, met (as it were miraculously) with Monsieur du Pont, among Ilands, that bee in great number in those parts. The said Monsieur du Pont, at this happie and fortunate meeting, returned backe to see us in the Port Royall, and to ship himselfe in the Jonas, to returne into France. As this chance was beneficiall unto him, so was it unto us, by the meanes of his ships that hee left with us. For without that, wee had beene in such extremitie that we had not beene able to goe nor come any where, our ship being once returned into France. Hee arrived there, on Monday the last of July, and tarried yet in Port Royall, untill the eight and twenty of August. All this moneth we made merry.

The meeting with Monsieur du Pont.

[IV. viii. 1631.]

At the very beginning, we were desirous to see the Countrie up the River, where wee found Medowes, almost continuall above twelve leagues of ground, among which, brookes doe runne without number, which come from the Hills and Mountaines adjoyning. The Woods very

thicke on the water shoares, and so thicke, that sometimes, one cannot goe thorow them. In the passage to come forth from the same Fort, for to goe to Sea, there is a Brooke, which falleth from the high Rockes downe, and in falling disperseth it selfe into a small raine, which is very delightfull in Summer, because that at the foote of the Rocke there are Caves, wherein one is covered, whilest that this raine falleth so pleasantly: And in the Cave (wherein the raine of this Brooke falleth) is made, as it were, a Rain-bowe, when the Sunne shineth: which hath given me great cause of admiration.

The forme of a Rain-bow under a Cave.

Within fifteene leagues of our dwelling, the Countrey, thorow which the River L'Equille passeth, is all plaine and even. I have seene in those parts many Countries, where the land is all even, and the fairest of the world. But the perfection thereof is, that it is well watered. And for witnesse whereof, not onely in Port Royall, but also in all New France, the great River of Canada is proofe thereof, which at the end of foure hundred leagues is as broad as the greatest Rivers of the world, replenished with Iles and Rockes innumerable: taking her beginning from one of the Lakes which doe meete at the streame of her course (and so I thinke) so that it hath two courses, the one from the East towards France: the other from the West towards the South Sea: which is admirable, but not without the like example found in our Europe. For the River which commeth downe to Trent, and to Verone proceedeth from a Lake which produceth another River, whose course is bent opposite to the River of Lins, which falleth into the River Danube. So the Nile issueth from a Lake that bringeth forth other Rivers, which discharge themselves into the great Ocean.

Greatnesse of Canada 400. *leagues from the mouth. It springs from a Lake.*

Let us returne to our tillage: for to that must wee apply our selves: it is the first mine that must bee sought for, which is more worth than the treasures of Atabalipa: And hee that hath Corne, Wine, Cattell, Woollen and Linnen, Leather, Iron, and afterward Cod-fish, he needeth no other treasures, for the necessaries of life. Now all

Which is the first mine.

this is (or may be) in the Land by us described: upon which Monsieur de Poutrincourt having caused a second tillage to be made, in fifteene dayes after his arrivall thither, he sowed it with our French Corne, as well Wheat and Rie, as with Hempe, Flaxe, Turnep seed, Radice, Cabages, and other seeds: And the eight day following, he saw that his labour had not beene in vaine, but rather a faire hope, by the production that the ground had already made of the seedes which shee had received. Which being shewed to Monsieur du Pont, was unto him a faire subject to make his relation in France, as a thing altogether new there. The twentieth day of August was already come, when these faire shewes were made, and the time did admonish them that were to goe in the Voyage, to make ready. Whereunto they beganne to give order, so that the five and twentieth day of the same moneth, after many peales of Ordnance, they weighed anchor to come to the mouth of the Port, which is commonly the first dayes journey.

Sowing of Corne.

August 20.

Cause of the Voyage made into the country of the Armouchiquois.

Monsieur de Monts being desirous to reach as farre into the South as he could, and seeke out a place very fit to inhabite, beyond Malebarre, had requested Monsieur de Poutrincourt to passe farther than yet he had done, and to seeke a convenient Port in good temperature of aire, making no greater account of Port Royall than of Saint Croix, in that which concerneth health. Whereunto the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt being willing to condescend, would not tarrie for the Spring time, knowing he should have other employments to exercise himselfe withall. But seeing his sowings ended, and his field greene, resolved himselfe to make this Voyage and Discoverie before Winter. So then hee disposed all things to that end, and with his Barke anchored neere to the Jonas, to the end to get out in companie.

Parting from Port Royall.

The eight and twentieth day of the said moneth each of us tooke his course, one one way, and the other another, diversly to Gods keeping. As for Monsieur du Pont he purposed by the way to set upon a Merchant of Roan,

named Boyer, who (contrary to the Kings inhibitions) was in those parts to trucke with the Savages, notwithstanding hee had beene delivered out of prison in Rochell, by the consent of Monsieur de Poutrincourt, under promise hee should not goe thither; but the said Boyer was already gone. And as for Monsieur de Poutrincourt, hee tooke his course for the Ile of Saint Croix, the Frenchmens first abode, having Monsieur de Champdore for Master and Guide of his Barque: but beeing hindered by the winde, and because his Barque did leake, hee was forced twice to put backe againe. In the end hee quite passed the Bay Françoise, and viewed the said Ile, where hee found ripe Corne, of that which two yeeres before was sowed by Monsieur de Monts, which was faire, bigge, weighty, and well filled. Hee sent unto us some of that Corne to Port Royall, where I was requested to stay, to looke to the house, and to keepe the rest of the companie there, in concord. Whereunto I did agree (though it was referred to my will) for the assurance that wee had among our selves, that the yeere following wee should make our habitation in a warmer Countrie beyond Malèbarre, and that wee should all goe in companie with them that should bee sent to us out of France. In the meane while I employed my selfe in dressing the ground, to make inclosures and partitions of Gardens, for to sowe Corne and Kitchin herbes. Wee caused also a Ditch to bee made all about the Fort, which was very needfull to receive the waters and moistnesse, that before did runne underneath among the rootes of trees, that had beene fallen downe: which peradventure did make the place unhealthfull. I will not stand in describing heere, what each of our other workmen and labourers did particularly make. It sufficeth, that wee had store of Joyners, Carpenters, Masons, Stone-carvers, Lock-smithes, Taylors, Boord-sawyers, Mariners, &c. who did exercise their Trades, which (in doing their duties) were very kindly used, for they were at their owne libertie for three houres labour a day. The overplus of the time they bestowed it, in going

Faire Rie found at S. Croix. [IV. viii. 1632.]

Their meaning is to plant beyond Malebarre to the southward.

A ditch profitably made.

What store of workmen and labourers in New France. Their exercise and manner of life.

Mussels, Lobsters, Crabs.

to gather Mussels, which are at lowe water in great quantitie before the Fort, or Lobsters, or Crabbes, which are in Port Royall, under the Rockes in great abundance, or Cockles, which are in every part in the oze, about the shoares of the said Port: All that kinde of fish is taken without Net or Boat. Some there were that sometimes tooke wilde-fowle, but not being skilfull, they spoyled the game. And as for us, our Table was furnished by one of Monsieur de Monts men, who provided for us in such sort that wee wanted no fowle, bringing unto us, sometimes halfe a dozen of birds, called by Frenchmen, Outards (a kinde of wilde Geese) sometimes as many Mallards, or wilde Geese, white and gray, very often two or three dozen of Larkes, and other kindes of birds. As for Bread, no body felt want thereof, and every one had three quarts of pure and good Wine a day. Which hath continued with us as long as wee have beene there, saving that, when they, who came to fetch us, instead of bringing commodities unto us, helped us to spend our owne. For our allowance, wee had Pease, Beanes, Rice, Prunes, Raisins, drie Codde, and salt Flesh, besides Oyle and Butter. But whensoever the Savages, dwelling neere us, had taken any quantitie of Sturgions, Salmons, or small fishes; Item, any Bevers, * Ellans, Carabous (or fallow Deere) they brought unto us halfe of it: and that which remained they exposed it sometimes to sale publikely, and they that would have any thereof did trucke Bread for it.

Good provision of wilde fowle.

What quantity of Bread and Wine.

**A kinde of Stag, or red Deere.*

The liberall nature of the Savages.

Wherein is to be noted a thing that now I remember. It is, that being necessary to cut turfes to cover the Piles of wood, heaped to make the said Coales, there was found in the Medowes three foote deepe of earth, not earth, but grasse or herbes mingled with mudde, which have heaped themselves yeerely one upon another from the beginning of the world, not having beene mooved. Neverthelesse the greene thereof serveth for pasture to the Ellans, which wee have many times seene in our Medowes of those parts, in herds of three or foure, great

What earth is in the Medowes.

and small, suffering themselves sometimes to bee approached, then they ranne to the Woods: But I may say moreover, that I have seene, in crossing two leagues of our said Medowes, the same to bee all troden with trackes of Ellans, for I knowe not there any other cloven footed beasts. There was killed one of those beasts, not farre off from our Fort at a place where Monsieur de Monts having caused the grasse to bee mowed two yeeres before, it was growne againe the fairest of the world. Some might marvell how those Medowes are made, seeing that all the ground in those places is covered with Woods. For satisfaction whereof, let the curious Reader knowe, that in high Spring tides, specially in March and September, the floud covereth those shoares, which hindereth the trees there to take roote. But every where, where the water overfloweth not, if there bee any ground, there are Woods.

Ellans in the Medowes.

LEt us returne to Monsieur de Poutrincourt, whom we have left in the Ile Saint Croix. Having made there a review, and cherished the Savages that were there, hee went in the space of foure dayes to Pemptegoet, which is that place so famous under the name of Norombega. There needeth not so long a time in comming thither, but hee tarried on the way to mend his Barke: for to that end he had brought with him a Smith and a Carpenter, and quantitie of boords. Hee crossed the Iles, which bee at the mouth of the River, and came to Kinibeki, where his Barke was in danger, by reason of the great streames that the nature of the place procureth there. This was the cause why hee made there no stay, but passed further to the Bay of Marchin, which is the name of a Captaine of the Savages, who at the arrivall of the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt, beganne to crie out aloud He He: whereunto the like answere was made unto him. Hee replied, asking in his Language, What are yee? They answered him, Friends: And thereupon Monsieur de Poutrincourt approaching, treated amitie with him, and

Poutrincourts discovery.

Pemptegoet the true name of the fabulous Norombega.

Kinibeki.

The Bay of Marchin.

presented him with Knives, Hatchets, and Matachiaz, that is to say, Scarfes, Karkenets and Bracelets made of Beades, or Quills made of white and blue Glasse; whereof hee was very glad, as also for the confederacy that the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt made with him, knowing very well that the same would bee a great aide and support unto him. Hee distributed to some men that were about him, among a great number of people, the Presents that the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt gave him, to whom hee brought store of Orignac, or Ellans flesh (for the Baskes doe call a Stagge, or Ellan, Orignac) to refresh the companie with victuals. That done, they set sayles towards Chouakoet, where the River of Captaine Olmechin is, and where the yeere following was made the warre of the Souriquois and Etechemins, under the conduct of the Sagamos Membertou, which I have described in Verses, which Verses I have inserted among the Muses of New France. At the entry of the Bay of the said place of Chouakoet there is a great Iland, about halfe a league compasse, wherein our men did first discover any Vines (for, although there bee some in the Lands neerer to Port Royall, notwithstanding there was yet no knowledge had of them) which they found in great quantitie, having the trunke three and foure foote high, and as bigge as ones fist in the lower part, the Grapes faire and great, and some as big as Plummes, or lesser: but as blacke, that they left a staine where their liquour was spilled: Those Grapes, I say, lying over bushes and brambles that growe in the same Iland, where the trees are not so thicke as in other where, but are sixe or seven rods distant assunder, which causeth the Grapes to be ripe the sooner; having besides a ground very fit for the same, gravelly and sandy. They tarried there but two houres: but they noted, that there were no Vines on the North side, even as in the Ile Saint Croix are no Cedar trees, but on the West side.

Confederacy.

[IV. viii. 1633.]

Orignac or Ellan: Champlein saith they are like Oxen.

The River of Olmechin.

Port De Chouakoet.

An Iland of Vines.

The River of Olmechin.

From this Iland they went to the River of Olmechin, a Port of Chauakoet, where Marchin and the said Olmechin brought to Monsieur de Poutrincourt a prisoner

of the Souriquois (and therefore their enemy) which they gave unto him freely. Two houres after, there arrived two Savages, the one an Eteshemin, named Chkoudun, Captaine of the River Saint John, called by the Savages Oigoudi: The other a Souriquois, named Messamoet, Captaine or Sagamos of the River of the Port De la Heve, where this prisoner was taken. They had great store of Merchandises trucked with Frenchmen, which they were comming to utter, that is to say, great, meane, and small Kettles, Hatchets, Knives, Gownes, short Clokes, red Waste-coates, Bisket, and other things: whereupon there arrived twelve or fifteene Boats, full of Savages of Olmechins subjection, being in very good order, all their faces painted, according to their wonted custome, when they will seeme faire, having their Bow and Arrow in hand, and the quiver, which they layed downe aboord. At that houre Messamoet beganne his Oration before the Savages: shewing them, how that in times past, they often had friendship together: and that they might easily overcome their enemies, if they would have intelligence and serve themselves with the amitie of the Frenchmen, whom they saw there present to knowe their Countrey, to the end to bring commodities unto them hereafter, and to succour them with their forces, which forces he knew, and hee was the better able to make a demonstration thereof unto them, by so much that hee which spake, had before time beene in France, and dwelt there with Monsieur de Grandmont, Governour of Bayonne, Finally, his speech continued almost an houre with much vehemency and affection, with a gesture of body and armes, as is requisite in a good Oratour. And in the end he did cast all his merchandises (which were worth above three hundred crownes, brought into that Countrie) into Olmechin his Boat, as making him a present of that, in assurance of the love hee would witnesse unto him. That done the night hasted on, and every one retired himselfe. But Messamoet was not pleased, for that Olmechin made not the like Oration unto him, nor

The galantnesse of the Savages.

Port De la Heve.

The Savages doe paint their faces.

The Oration of Messamoet.

Messamoets affection to the Frenchmen.

The largesse and liberality of Messamoet.

The Savages be liberall. requited his present: For the Savages have that noble qualitie, that they give liberally, casting at the feet of him whom they will honour, the Present that they give him: But it is in hope to receive some reciprocall kindnesse, which is a kinde of contract, which wee call, without name, I give thee, to the end thou shouldest give mee. And that is done thorow all the world. Therefore Messamoet from that day had in minde to make warre to Olmechin. Notwithstanding, the next day in the morning he and his people did returne with a Boate laden with that which they had, to wit, Corne, Tabacco, Beanes and Pumpions, which they distributed here and there. Those two Captaines Olmechin and Marchin have since beene killed in the warres. In whose stead was chosen by the Savages, one named Bessabes, which since our returne hath beene killed by Englishmen: and in stead of him they have made a Captaine to come from within the Lands, named Asticou, a grave man, valiant and redoubted, which, in the twinkling of an eye, will gather up a thousand Savages together, which thing Olmechin and Marchin might also doe. For our Barkes being there, presently the Sea was seene all covered over with their Boates, laden with nimble and lusty men, holding themselves up straight in them: which wee cannot doe without danger, those Boates being nothing else but trees hollowed. From thence Monsieur de Poutrincourt following on his course, found a certaine Port very delightfull, which had not beene seene by Monsieur de Monts: And during the Voyage they saw store of smoke, and people on the shoare, which invited us to come aland: And seeing that no account was made of it, they followed the Barke along the sand, yea most often they did outgoe her, so swift are they, having their Bowes in hand, and their Quivers upon their backes, alwaies singing and dancing, not taking care with what they should live by the way.

A Corn-countrie, Beanes, Pumpions, and Grapes.
Bessabes.
Englishmen.
Asticou.
Canoas.
A very good Port.
The agilitie of the Armouchiquois.

[IV. viii. 1634.] Monsieur de Poutrincourt having landed in this Port, behold among a multitude of Savages a good number of Fifes, which did play with certaine long Pipes, made as

Fifes.

it were with Canes of Reedes, painted over, but not with such an harmonie as our Shepheards might doe: And to shew the excellency of their arte, they whisled with their noses in gambolling, according to their fashion.

And as this people did runne headlong, to come to the Barke, there was a Savage which hurt himselfe grievously in the heele against the edge of a Rocke, whereby hee was enforced to remayne in the place. Monsieur de Poutricourt his Chirurgion, at that instant would apply to this hurt that which was of his Arte, but they would not permit it, untill they had first made their mouthes and mops about the wounded man. They then layed him downe on the ground, one of them holding his head on his lappe, and made many bawlings and singings, whereunto the wounded man answered but with a Ho, with a complayning voice, which having done they yeelded him to the cure of the said Chirurgion, and went their way, and the Patient also after hee had beene dressed: but two houres after he came againe, the most jocund in the world, having put about his head, the binding cloth, wherewith his heele was wrapped, for to seeme the more gallant.

A Savage wounded.

Their mouthes and mops about him that was hurt.

The day following, our people entred farther into the Port, where being gone to see the Cabins of the Savages, an old woman of an hundred or sixscore yeeres of age, came to cast at the feete of Monsieur de Poutrincourt, a loafe of bread, made with the Wheat called Mahis, then very faire Hempe of a long growth; Item, Beanes, and Grapes newly gathered, because they had seene Frenchmen eate of them at Chavakoet. Which the other Savages seeing, that knew it not, they brought more of them than one would, emulating one another; and for recompence of this their kindnesse, there was set on their foreheads a Fillet or Band, of paper, wet with spittle, of which they were very proud. It was shewed them, in pressing the Grape into a Glasse, that of that we did make the Wine which wee did drinke. Wee would have made them to eate of the Grape, but having taken it into their mouthes,

The Presents of a Savage woman.
Hempe very faire.
Beanes.
Quantitie of Grapes.
The simplicity and ignorance of people.

they spitted it out, so ignorant is this people of the best thing that God hath given to Man, next to Bread. Yet notwithstanding they have no want of wit, and might be brought to doe some good things, if they were civilized, and had the use of Handy-crafts. But they are subtile, theevish, traiterous, and though they bee naked, yet one cannot take heed of their fingers; for if one turne never so little his eyes aside, and that they spie the opportunitie to steale any Knife, Hatchet, or any thing else, they will not misse nor fayle of it; and will put the theft betweene their buttockes, or will hide it within the sand with their foot so cunningly, that one shall not perceive it. Indeed I doe not wonder if a people poore and naked be theevish; but when the heart is malicious, it is unexcusable. This people is such, that they must bee handled with terrour: for if through love and gentlenesse one give them too free accesse, they will practise some surprize, as it hath beene knowne in divers occasions heretofore, and will yet hereafter be seene. And without deferring any longer, the second day after our comming thither, as they saw our people busie awashing Linnen, they came some fifty, one following another, with Bowes, Arrowes and Quivers, intending to play some bad part, as it was conjectured upon their manner of proceeding; but they were prevented, some of our men going to meet them, with their Muskets and Matches at the cocke, which made some of them runne away, and the others being compassed in, having put downe their weapons, came to a Peninsule, or small head of an Iland, where our men were, and making a friendly shew, demanded to trucke the Tabacco they had for our merchandises.

The bad nature of the Armouchiquois. Note how the Armouchiquois must be dealt withall. This the only way to civilize Savages. Trust them and hang them, nay trust them and they will cut your throat, as in the Virginian massacre appeareth.

The next day the Captaine of the said place and Port, came into Monsieur de Poutrincourts Barke to see him: wee did marvell to see him accompanied with Olmechin, seeing the way was marvellous long to come thither by Land, and much shorter by Sea. That gave cause of bad suspicion, albeit hee had promised his love to the Frenchmen. Notwithstanding they were gently received. And

Suspicion for the comming of Olmechin.

Monsieur de Poutrincourt gave to the said Olmechin a complete garment, wherewith being clothed, hee viewed himselfe in a Glasse, and did laugh to see himselfe in that order. But a little while after, feeling that the same hindred him, although it was in October, when hee was returned unto his Cabins, he distributed it to sundry of his men, to the end that one alone should not be over-pestered with it. Now during the time of the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt was there, being in doubt whether Monsieur de Monts would come to make an habitation on that Coast, as hee wished it, hee made there a piece of ground to be tilled, for to sowe Corne and to plant Vines.

The trouble of garments.

Corne sowed, and Vines planted.

As they were a deliberating to passe farther, Olmechin came to the Barke to see Monsieur de Poutrincourt, where having tarried certaine houres, either in talking or eating, hee said, that the next day an hundred Boates should come, contayning every one sixe men: but the comming of such a number of men, being but troublesome, Monsieur de Poutrincourt would not tarrie for them; but went away the same day to Malebarre, not without much difficultie, by reason of the great streames and shoalds that are there. So that the Barke having touched at three foot of water onely, we thought to be cast away, and wee beganne to unlade her, and put victuals into the Shalop, which was behind, for to save us on Land: but being no full Sea, the Barke came aflote within an houre. All this Sea is a Land overflowed, as that of Mount Saint Michaels, a sandy ground, in which, all that resteth is a plaine flat Countrey as farre as the Mountaines, which are seene fifteene leagues off from that place. And I am of opinion, that as farre as Virginia, it is all alike. Moreover, there is here great quantity of Grapes, as before, and a Country very full of people. Monsieur de Monts being come to Malebarre in an other season of the yeare, gathered onely greene Grapes; which he made to be preserved, and brought some to the King. But it was our good hap to come thither in October, for to see the maturity thereof.

100. *Boats of Savages.*

Malebarre.

Peril of sholds.

[IV. viii. 1635.]

Note.

Great antiquity of Grapes.

Hereupon chap. 7.

I have here before shewed the difficulty that is found in entering into Malebarre. This is the cause why Monsieur de Poutrincourt came not in with his Barke, but went thither with a Shallop onely, which thirty or forty Savages did helpe to draw in: and when it was full tide (but the tide doth not mount here but two fathams high, which is seldome seene) he went out, and retired himselfe into his said Barke, to passe further in the morning, as soone as he should ordaine it.

Two fathames tide onely.

THe night beginning to give place to the dawning of the day, the sailes are hoised up, but it was but a very perilous navigation. For with this small Vessell they were forced to coast the land, where they found no depth: going backe to Sea it was yet worse; in such wise that they did strike twice or thrice, being raised up againe onely by the waves, and the rudder was broken, which was a dreadfull thing. In this extremity they were constrained to cast anker in the Sea, at two fathams deepe, and three leagues off from the land. Which being done, Daniel Hay (a man which taketh pleasure in shewing forth his vertue in the perils of the Sea) was sent towards the Coast to view it, and see if there were any Port. And as he was neere land he saw a Savage, which did dance, singing, yo, yo, yo, he called to him to come neerer, and by signes asked him if there were any place to retire Ships in, and where any fresh water was. The Savage having made signe there was, hee tooke him into his Shallop, and brought him to the Barke, wherein was Chkoudun Captaine of the River of Oigoudi, otherwise Saint Johns River: who being brought before this Savage, he understood him no more than did our owne people: true it is, that by signes he comprehended better then they what he would say. This Savage shewed the places where no depth was, and where was any, and did so well indenting and winding here and there, alway the led in hand, that in the end they came to the Port shewed by him, where small depth is; wherein the Barke being arrived, diligence

Danger.

Oigoudi, or S. Johns River.

Savages of sundry Nations understand not one another.

was used to make a forge for to mend her with her rudder, and an Oven to bake Bread, because there was no more Bisket left. *A forge and an oven made.*

Fifteene dayes were imployed in this worke, during the which Monsieur de Poutrincourt, according to the laudable custome of Christians, made a Crosse to be framed and set up upon a greene Banke, as Monsieur de Monts had done two yeeres before at Kinibeki and Malebarre. *A crosse set up.* Now among these painefull exercises they gave not over making good cheere, with that which both the Sea and Land might furnish in that part. For in this Port is plenty of Fowle, in taking of which many of our men applied themselves: specially the Sea Larkes are there in so great flights that Monsieur de Poutrincourt killed eight and twenty of them with one Caliver shot. *Abundance of Larkes & fishes.* As for fishes, there be such abundance of Porpeses, and another kinde of fish, called by Frenchmen Soufleurs, that is to say, Blowers, that the Sea seemes to be all covered over with them. But they had not the things necessary for this kinde of fishing, they contented themselves then with shel-fish, as of Oysters, Skalops, Periwincles, whereof there was enough. *Shel-fish.* The Savages of the other side did bring fish, and Grapes within baskets made of rushes, for exchange with some of our wares. *Grapes. Rush-baskets.*

After certaine dayes, the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt, seeing there great assembly of Savages, came ashoare, and to give them some terrour, made to march before him one of his men, flourishing with two naked swords. *The triall of French weapons before the Savages.* Whereat they much wondred, but yet much more when they saw that our Muskets did pierce thicke peeces of wood, where their Arrowes could not so much as scratch. And therefore they never assailed our men, as long as they kept watch. And it had beene good to sound the Trumpet at every houres end, as Captaine James Quartier did. For (as Monsieur de Poutrincourt doth often say) One must never lay bait for theeves; meaning, that one must never give cause to any enemy to thinke that he may surprise you: But one must alwayes shew *Good instruction.*

that he is mistrusted, and that you are not asleepe, chiefely when one hath to doe with Savages, which will never set upon him that resolutely expects them; for soone after they killed foure of our men which were carelesse. They named this Port, Port Fortune.

Port Fortune.

Resolution for the returne.

Counsell being taken, it was resolved to returne into Port Royall: Monsieur de Poutrincourt besides all this, being yet in care for them whom he had left there, so they came againe for the third time into Port Fortune, where no Savage was seene. Upon the first winde, the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt weighed anker for the returne, and being mindfull of the dangers passed he sailed in open Sea: which shortned his course, but not without a great mischiefe of the rudder, which was againe broken; in such sort, that being at the mercy of the waves, they arrived in the end, as well as they could amongst the Ilands of Norombega, where they mended it. Monsieur de Poutrincourt arrived in Port Royall the foureteenth day of November, where we received him joyfully.

Their returne.

Perill.

The arrivall of Monsieur de Poutrincourt.

[IV. viii. 1636.] The publike rejoycing being finished, Monsieur de Poutrincourt had a care to see his corne, the greatest part whereof he had sowed two leagues off from our Port, by the River L'Esquelle; and the other part about our said Port: and found that which was first sowen very forward, but not the last, that had beene sowed the sixth and tenth dayes of November, which notwithstanding did grow under the Snow, during Winter, as I have noted it in my sowings. It would be a tedious thing to particularise all that was done amongst us during Winter: as to tell how the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt caused many times coales to be made, the forge-coale being spent: That he caused waies to be made thorow the woods: That he went thorow the Forrests by the guide of the Compasse, and other things of such nature. But I will relate that, for to keepe us merry and clenly concerning victuals, there was an order established at the Table of the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt, which was named L'ordre de bon temps, the order of good time (or the order of mirth) at first

The state of Corne.

How they spent their winter.

Coales.

The use of the Compasse in land voyages.

The institution of the Order of Bon temps.

invented by Monsieur Champlein, wherein they (who were of the same table) were every one at his turne and day (which was in fifteene dayes once) Steward and Cater. Now his care was that we should have good and worship-full fare, which was so well observed, that (although the Belly-gods of these parts doe often reproach unto us that we had not La Rue aux Ours of Paris with us) we have ordinarily had there, as good cheere as we could have at La Rue aux Ours, and at farre lesser charges. For there was none, but (two dayes before his turne came) was carefull to goe ahunting or fishing, and brought some daintie thing, besides that which was of our ordinary allowance. So well, that at breakfast we never wanted some modicom or other, of fish or flesh: and at the repast of dinners or suppers, yet lesse; for it was the great banquet, where the Governour of the feast, or Steward (whom the Savages doe call Atoctegi) having made the Cooke to make all things ready, did march with his Napkin on his shoulder, and his staffe of office in his hand, with the colour of the order about his necke, which was worth above foure crownes, and all of them of the order following him, bearing every one a dish. The like also was at the bringing in of the Fruit, but not with so great a traine. And at night after grace was said, he resigned the Collar of the Order, with a cup of wine, to his successour in that charge, and they dranke one to another. I have heretofore said that we had abundance of Fowle, as Mallards, Outards, Geese gray and white, Partridges and other Birds: Item, of Elans, or Stag-flesh, of Caribous or Deere, Bevers, Otters, Beares, Rabbets, Wilde-cats or Leopards, Nibaches, and such like, which the Savages did take, wherewith we made as good dishes of meate, as in the Cookes shops that be in La rue aux Ours, Beare streete, and greater store; for of all meates none is so tender as Ellans flesh (whereof we made good pasties) nor so delicate as the Beavers-taile. Yea, we have had sometimes halfe a dosen Sturgions at one clap, which the Savages did bring to us, part whereof we

La Rue aux Ours or Beare street is as Pie-corner, or such a Cooke place in London.

Store of Sturgions. Before in chap. 113.

did take, paying for it, and the rest was permitted them to sell publikely, and to trucke it for Bread, whereof our people had abundantly. And as for the ordinary meate brought out of France, that was distributed equally, as much to the least as to the biggest. And the like with Wine, as we have said. In such actions we had alwayes twenty or thirty Savages, men, women, girls and Boies, who beheld us doing our offices. Bread was given them gratis, as we doe here to the poore. But as for the Sagamos Membertou, and other Sagamos (when they came to us) they sat at table eating and drinking as we did: and wee tooke pleasure in seeing them, as contrariwise their absence was irkesome unto us; as it came to passe three or foure times that all went away to the places where they knew that game and Venison was, and brought one of our men with them, who lived some six weekes as they did without Salt, without Bread and without Wine, lying on the ground upon skins, and that in snowie weather. Moreover they had greater care of him (as also of others that have often gone with them) than of themselves, saying, that if they should chance to dye, it would be laid to their charges to have killed them.

The usage of the Savages.

The Savages have care of the Frenchmen.

Such government as we have spoken of, did serve us for preservatives against the Country disease. And yet foure of ours died in February and March, of them who were of a fretfull condition sluggish. And I remember I observed that all had their lodgings on the West side, and looking towards the wide upen Port, which is almost foure leagues long, shaped ovale-wise, besides they had all of them ill bedding.

Preservative against Scurvy.

Bad winde.

We had faire weather almost during all the Winter: for neither raines nor fogges are so frequent there as here, whether it be at Sea or on the land: The reason is, because the Sun-beames, by the long distance, have not the force to raise up vapours from the ground here, chiefely in a Countrey all wooddy. But in Summer it doth, both from the Sea and the Land, when as their force is augmented, and those vapors are dissolved suddenly or slowly, accord-

The state of Winter weather. Why Raines and Mists be scarce in winter.

ing as one approacheth to the Equinoctiall line. Raines being in those parts rare, in that season, the Sunne likewise shineth there very faire, after the fall of Snowes, which we have had seven or eight times, but it is easily melted in open places, and the longest abiding have beene in February. Howsoever it be, the Snow is very profitable for the fruits of the earth, to preserve them against the frost, and to serve them as a fur-gowne. *Snow is profitable.*

And as the skie is seldome covered with clouds towards New-found-lands in Winter time, so are there morning frosts, which doe increase in the end of January, February, and in the beginning of March, for untill the very time of January, we kept us still in our doublets: And I remember that on a Sunday, the foureteenth day of that moneth, in the afternoone, wee sported our selves singing in Musicke upon the River L'Esquelle, and in the same moneth wee went to see Corne two leagues off from our Fort, and did dine merrily in the Sun-shine: I would not for all that say that all other yeares were like unto this. For as that winter was as milde in these parts, these last Winters of the yeares 1607. 1608. have beene the hardest that ever was seene; it hath also beene alike in those Countries, in such sort, that many Savages died through the rigour of the weather, as in these our parts many poore people and travellers have beene killed through the same hardnesse of Winter weather. But I will say, that the yeare before we were in New France, the Winter had not beene so hard, as they which dwelt there before us have testified unto me. Let this suffice for that which concerneth the winter season. But I am not yet fully satisfied in searching the cause, why in one and the selfesame parallell the season is in those parts of New France more slow by a moneth than in these parts, and the leaves appeare not upon the trees but towards the end of the moneth of May: unlesse wee say that the thicknesse of the wood and greatnesse of Forrests doe hinder the Sunne from warming of the ground: Item, that the Country where we were is joyning to the Sea,

Frosts when they are. [IV. viii. 1637.] *The state of January.*

Conformity of weather in East and West France. The great Frost 1607.

Wherefore is the season late.

and thereby more subject to cold. And besides that, this land having never beene tilled is the more dampish, the trees and plants not being able easily to draw sap from their mother the earth. In recompence whereof the Winter there is also more slow, as we have heretofore spoken.

Dressing of Gardens.

The cold being passed, about the end of March the best disposed amongst us strived who should best till the ground, and make Gardens, to sowe in them, and gather fruits thereof. Which was to very good purpose, for wee found great discommodity in the Winter for want of Garden hearbes. When every one had done his sowing, it was a marveilous pleasure in seeing them daily grow and spring up, and yet greater contentment to use thereof so abundantly as wee did: so that this beginning of good hope made us almost to forget our native Countrie, and especially when the fish began to haunt fresh-water, and came abundantly into our brookes, in such innumerable quantity that we knew not what to doe with it.

Good crop from the ground.

Abundance of fishes.

The care of Monsieur de Poutrincourt in providing for them that should come after him.

The building of a water-mil.

Whilest some laboured on the ground, Monsieur de Poutrincourt made some buildings to be prepared, for to lodge them which he hoped should succeede us. And considering how troublesome the Hand-mill was, he caused a Water-mill to be made, which caused the Savages to admire much at it. For indeede it is an invention which came not into the spirit of men from the first ages. After that, our workmen had much rest, for the most part of them did almost nothing. But I may say that this Mill, by the diligence of our Millers, did furnish us with three times more Herrings then was needefull unto us for our sustenance. Monsieur de Poutrincourt made two Hogsheads full of them to be salted, and one hogshead of Sardines, or Pilchers to bring into France for a shew, which were left in our returne at Saint Maloes, to some Merchants.

Abundance of Herrings.

Pilchers.

Among all these things the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt did not neglect to thinke on his returne. Which

was the part of a wise man, for one must never put so much trust in mens promises, but one must consider that very often many disasters doe happen to them in a small moment of time. And therefore, even in the Moneth of Aprill, he made two Barkes to be prepared, a great one and a small one, to come to seeke out French-ships towards Campseau, or New-found-land, if it should happen that no supply should come unto us. But the Carpentry-worke being finished, one onely inconvenience might hinder us, that is, we had no Pitch to calke our Vessels. This (which was the chiefest thing) was forgotten at our departure from Rochel. In this important necessitie, the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt advised himselfe to gather in the woods quantity of the gumme issuing from Firre-trees. Which he did with much labour, going thither himselfe, most often with a Boy or two: so that in the end hee got some hundred pounds weight of it. Now after these labours, it was not yet all, for it was needefull to melt and purifie the same, which was a necessary point and unknowne to our ship-Master Monsieur de Champdore, and to his Marriners, for as much as that the Pitch we have, commeth from Norwege, Suedland, and Danzick. Neverthelesse the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt found the meanes to draw out the quintessence of these Gummes and Firre-tree barkes: and caused quantity of Brickes to be made, with the which he made an open furnace, wherein he put a limbecke made with many kettles, joyned one in the other, which hee filled with those gummes and barkes: Then being well covered, fire was put round about it, by whose violence the gumme enclosed within the lembecke melted, and dropped downe into a bason; but it was needefull to be very watchfull at it, by reason that if the fire had taken hold of the Gumme, all had beene lost. That was admirable, especially in a man that never saw any made. Whereof the Savages being astonied, did say in words borrowed from the Basques, Endia chave Normandia, that is to say, that the Normans know many things. Now they call all Frenchmen Normands, except

Preparation for the return.

Great oversight.

Monsieur de Poutrincourt his invention.

Bricke made in New France.

Why the Savages call all French men Normands.

the Basques, because the most part of fishermen that goe afishing there, be of that Nation. This remedie came very fitly unto us, for those which came to seeke us were fallen into the same want that we were.

[IV. viii. 1638.] *Newes out of France, and their returne.*

THe Sunne did but beginne to cheere the earth, and to behold his Mistris with an amorous aspect, when the Sagamos Membertou (after our Prayers solemnely made to God, and the break-fast distributed to the people, according to the custome) came to give us advertisement that he had seene a sayle upon the Lake, which came towards our Fort. At this joyfull newes every one went out to see, but yet none was found that had so good a sight as he, though he be above a 100. yeeres old; nevertheless we spied very soone what it was. It was onely a small Bark under the charge of a young man of Saint Maloes, named Chevalier, who beeing arrived at the Fort, delivered his Letters to Monsieur de Poutrincourt, which were read publikely. They did write unto him, that for to helpe to save the charges of the Voyage, the ship (being yet the Jonas) should stay at Campseau Port, there to fish for Cods, by reason that the Merchants associate with Monsieur de Monts, knew not that there was any fishing farther then that place: Notwithstanding if it were necessary he should cause the ship to come to Port Royall. Moreover, that the societie was broken, because that contrary to the King his Edict, the Hollanders, conducted by a traiterous Frenchman, called La Jeunesse, had the yeere before taken up the Bevers and other Furres, of the great River of Canada. Notwithstanding, after that Monsieur de Poutrincourt, had a long while mused hereupon, he said, that although he should have no bodie to come with him, but onely his family, hee would not forsake the enterprize. It was great griefe unto us to abandon (without hope of returne) a Land that had produced unto us so faire Corne, and so many faire adorned Gardens. All that could be done untill that time, was to find out a place, fit to make a setled dwelling, and a

The contents of the Letters written to Monsieur de Poutrincourt: The societie of Monsieur de Monts broken, and why.

Monsieur de Poutrincourt his resolution. The English Nation going to Virginia with a zealous intent to plant true religion & so to increase Christs blessed flock, no doubt he will bee their leader.

Land of good fertilitie. And that being done, it was great want of courage to give over the enterprise, for another yeare being passed, the necessitie of maintayning an habitation there, should be taken away, for the Land was sufficient to yeeld things necessarie for life. This was the cause of that griefe which pierced the hearts of them which were desirous to see the Christian Religion established in that Countrey. But on the contrary, Monsieur de Monts, and his associates, reaping no benefit, but losse, and having no helpe from the King, it was a thing which they could not doe, but with much difficultie to maintayne an habitation in those parts.

Monsieur de Monts is envied.

Now this envie for the Trade of Beavers with the Savages, found not onely place in the Hollanders hearts, but also in French Merchants, in such sort that the priviledge which had beene given to the said Monsieur de Monts for ten yeeres was revoked. The unsatiable avarice of men is a strange thing, which have no regard to that which is honest, so that they may rifle and catch by what meanes soever. And thereupon I will say moreover, that there have beene some of them that came to that Countrey to fetch us home, that wickedly have presumed so much as to strip the dead, and steale away the Beavers, which those poore people doe put, for their last benefit, upon them whom they bury, as we will declare more at large in the Booke following. A thing that maketh the French name to be odious, and worthy disdaine among them, which have no such sordid qualitie at all.

Robbing from the dead.

Fifteene dayes after, the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt sent a Barke to Campseau, with part of our Workmen, for to beginne to pull downe the house. In the beginning of June the Savages, about foure hundred in number, went away from the dwelling that the Sagamos Membertou had newly made, in forme of a Towne, compassed about with high pales, for to go to warres against the Armouchiquois, which was at Chouakoet some eightie leagues distant from Port Royall; from whence they returned victorious.

The Savages go to the wars.

Monsieur de Poutrincourt being not willing to depart thence, untill hee had seene the issue of his expectation, that is to say, the ripenesse of his Corne, hee deliberated, after that the Savages were gone to warres, to make Voyages along the Coast. And because Chavalier was desirous to gather some Bevers, he sent him in a small Barke to the River of Saint John, called by the Savages, Ovigoudi, and to the Ile Saint Croix: And he, the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt, went in a shallop to the Copper Myne. I was of the said Chevalier his Voyage: we crossed the French Bay to goe to the said River, where, as soone as wee arrived, halfe a doozen Salmons newly taken, were brought to us: we sojourned there foure dayes, during which, we went into the Cabins of Sagamos Chkoudun, where we saw some eightie, or a hundred Savages, all naked except their privie members, which were a making Tabagy (that is to say, a banquetting) with the meale that the said Chevalier had trucked with them for their old skinnes full of Lice.

Voyages upon the Coast of the French Bay.

Salmons.

Assembly of Savages a feasting.

Filthy trading.

The Towne of Ovigoudi (so I call the dwelling of the said Chkoudun) was a great inclosure upon an Hill, compassed about with high and small Trees, tied one against another, and within it many Cabins, great and small, one of which was as great as a Market Hall, wherein many housholds retired themselves: And as for the same where they made their Tabagie, it was somwhat lesse. A good part of the said Savages were of Gachepe, which is the beginning of the great River of Canada; and they told us, that they came from their dwelling thither in sixe dayes, which made me much to marvell, seeing the distance that there is by Sea, but they shorten very much their wayes, and make great Voyages by the meanes of Lakes and Rivers, at the end of which being come, in carrying their Canowes three or foure leagues, they get to other Rivers that have a contrary course. All these Savages were come thither to goe to the warres with Membertou against the Armouchiquois.

[IV. viii. 1639.] When we returned to our Barke, which was at the

comming in of the Port, halfe a league off from thence, sheltered by a causie that the Sea hath made there, our men, and specially Captaine Champdore, that conducted us, were in doubt, lest some mischance should happen unto us, and having seene the Savages in armes, thought it had beene to doe us some mischiefe, which had beene very easie, for we were but two, and therefore they were very glad of our returne. After which, the next day came the Wizard or South-sayer of that quarter, crying as a mad man towards our Barke. Not knowing what he meant, hee was sent for in a Cock-boat, and came to parley with us, telling us that the Armouchiquois were within the Woods, which came to assaile them, and that they had killed some of their folkes that were a hunting: And therefore that we should come aland to assist them. Having heard this discourse, which according to our judgement, tended to no good, we told him that our journies were limited, and our victuals also, and that it was behoovefull for us to be gone. Seeing himselfe denied, he said that before two yeeres were come about, they would either kill all the Normans, or that the Normans should kill them. We mocked him and told him that we would bring our Barke before their Fort to ransack them all; but we did it not, for we went away that day: And having the wind contrarie, we sheltred our selves under a small Iland, where we were two dayes: during which, some went a shooting at Mallard for provision; others attended on the Cookerie: And Captaine Champdore and my selfe, went along the Rockes with Hammers and Chissels, seeking if there were any Mynes. In doing whereof we found quantitie of Steele among the Rockes, which was since molten by Monsieur de Poutrincourt, who made wedges of it, and it was found very fine Steele, whereof he caused a Knife to be made, that did cut as a Razor, which at our returne he shewed to the King.

The subtiltie of an Autmoin or Savage Southsayer.

A Myne of Steele.

From thence we went in three dayes to the Ile Saint Croix, being often contraried with the winds. And

because we had a bad conjecture of the Savages, which we did see in great number, at the River of Saint John, and that the troupe that was departed from Port Royall was yet at Menane, (an Ile betweene the said Port Royall and Saint Croix) which we would not trust, we kept good watch in the night time: At which time wee did often heare Seales voyces, which were very like to the voice of Owles: A thing contrarie to the opinion of them that have said and written that fishes have no voice.

Menane.
Good watch.
Seales voices.

The arrivall in the Ile of Saint Croix. The state of the same.

Being arrived at the Ile Saint Croix, we found there the buildings, left there all whole, saving that the Store-house was uncovered of one side. Wee found there yet Sacke in the bottome of a Pipe, whereof we dranke, and it was not much the worse. As for Gardens, wee found there Coale-worts, Sorrell, Lettuces, which we used for the Kitchin. Wee made there also good Pasties of Turtle Doves, which are very plentifull in the Woods, but the grasse is there so high that one could not find them when they were killed and fallen in the ground. The Court was there, full of whole Caskes, which some ill disposed Mariners did burne for their pleasures, which thing when I saw, I did abhorre, and I did judge, better then before, that the Savages were (being lesse civilized) more humane and honester men, then many that beare the Name of Christians, having during three yeeres, spared that place, wherein they had not taken so much as a piece of Wood, nor Salt, which was there in great quantitie, as hard as a Rocke.

Turtles.

The Savages of better nature then many Christians.

A number of Iles.

Going from thence, we cast Anchor among a great number of confused Iles, where wee heard some Savages, and wee did call to make them come to us. They answered us with the like call. Whereunto one of ours replied, Ouen Kirau? that is to say, What are yee? they would not discover themselves. But the next day Oagimont, the Sagamos of this River, came to us, and wee knew it was he whom we heard. Hee did prepare to follow Membertou and his troupe to the warres, where he was grievously wounded, as I have said in my Verses

upon this matter. This Oagimont hath a Daughter about eleven yeeres old, who is very comely, which Monsieur de Poutrincourt desired to have, and hath oftentimes demanded her of him to give her to the Queene, promising him that he should never want Corne, nor any thing else, but he would never condiscend thereto.

The love of the Savages towards their children.

Being entred into our Barke he accompanied us, untill wee came to the broad Sea, where hee put himselfe in his shallop to returne backe; and for us we bent our course for Port Royall, where we arrived before day, but we were before our Fort, just at the very point that faire Aurora began to shew her reddie cheekes upon the top of our wooddie Hils; every bodie was yet asleepe, and there was but one that rose up, by the continuall barking of Dogges; but wee made the rest soone to awake, by Peales of Musket-shots and Trumpets sound. Monsieur de Poutrincourt was but the day before, arrived from his Voyage to the Mynes, whither we have said that hee was to goe, and the day before that, was the Barke arrived that had carried part of our Workmen to Campseau. So that all being assembled, there rested nothing more then to prepare things necessary for our shipping. And in this businesse our Water-Mill did us very good service, for otherwise there had beene no meanes to prepare Meale enough for the Voyage, but in the end wee had more then wee had need of, which was given to the Savages, to the end to have us in remembrance.

Arrival into Port Royall.

Use of a Water-mill.

Upon the point that we should take our leave of Port Royall, Monsieur de Poutrincourt sent his men, one after another, to find out the ship at Campseau, which is a Port being betweene seven or eight Ilands where ships may be sheltered from windes: and there is a Bay of above fifteene leagues depth, and sixe or seven leagues broad. The said place being distant from Port Royall above one hundred and fiftie leagues. For victuals, wee wanted for no fish, for in halfe an houres fishing we might take Cod enough for to feed us a fortnight, and of the fairest and fattest that ever I saw, being of the colour of Carpes; which I

The description of the Port de Campseau. [IV. viii. 1640.]

Abundance of faire Cod.

have never knowne nor noted, but in this part of the said Cap de Sable; which after we had passed, the tide (which is swift in this place) brought us in short time as farre as to the Port De La Heve, thinking that wee were no further then the Port de Mouton. There we tarried two dayes, and in the very same Port wee saw the Cods bite at the Hooke. We found there store of red Gooseberies, and a Marcassite of Copper Myne: we also made there some trucking with the Savages for skinnes.

Port de la Heve.

From thence forward we had wind at will, and during that time it happened once, that being upon the hatches, I cried out to our Pilot Monsieur de Champdore, that we were readie to strike, thinking I had seene the bottome of the Sea; but I was deceived by the Rain-bow which did appeare with all his colours in the water, procured by the shadow, that our Boare-spright sayle did make over the same, being opposite to the Sunne, which assembling his beames, within the hollownesse of the same sayle, as it doth within the Cloudes, those beames were forced to make a reverberation in the water, and to shew forth this wonder. In the end wee arrived within foure leagues of Campseau, at a Port, where a good old man of Saint John de Lus, called Captaine Savalet, received us with all the kindnesse in the World. And for as much as this Port (which is little, but very faire) hath no name, I have qualified it in my Geographical Mappe, with the name of Savalet. This good honest man told us that the same Voyage was the two and fortieth Voyage that he had made into those parts, and neverthelesse the New-found-land-men doe make but one in a yeere. He was marvellously pleased with his fishing; and told us moreover that hee tooke every day fiftie Crownes worth of fish, and that his Voyage would bee worth one thousand pounds. He payed wages to sixteene men, and his vessell was of eightie tuns, which could carrie 100000. dry fishes.

The Rain-bow appearing in the water.

Port Savalet.

42. *Voyages made in New-found-land.*

Good fishing.

Wee were foure dayes there, by reason of the contrary wind. Then came we to Campseau, where we tarried for the other Barke, which came two dayes after us. And

as for Monsieur de Poutrincourt, as soone as he saw that the Corne might be reaped, he pulled up some Rie, root and all, for to shew here the beautie, goodnesse and unmeasurable height of the same. Hee also made gleanes of the other sorts of Seeds, as Wheat, Barley, Oates, Hempe, and others for the same purpose. Delighting my selfe in this exercise, God hath blessed my poore labour, and I have had in my Garden as faire Wheate as any can be in France, whereof the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt gave unto mee a gleane, when hee came to the said Port de Campseau. Hee was readie to depart from Port Royall, when Membertou and his company arrived, victorious over the Armouchiquois. At the instant request of the said Membertou he tarried yet one day. But it was pitious to see at his departing, those poore people weepe, who had beene alwayes kept in hope that some of ours should alwayes tarrie with them. In the end promise was made unto them, that the yeere following, housholds and families should be sent thither, wholly to inhabit their Land, and teach them Trades for to make them live as wee doe, which promise did somewhat comfort them. There was left remayning ten Hogs-heads of Meale, which were given to them, with the Corne that we had sowed, and the possession of the Manour if they would use it, which they have not done. For they cannot be constant in one place, and live as they doe.

Exceeding faire Corne.

Faire Wheate.

The Savages returne from the warres.

The Savages teares at the going away of the French-men.

Meale left behinde.

The eleventh of August the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt departed, with eight in his companie, from the said Port Royall, in a shallop to come to Campseau: A thing marvellously dangerous to crosse so many Bayes and Seas in so small a vessell, laden with nine persons, with victuals necessarie for the Voyage, and reasonable great quantitie of other stuffe. Being arrived at the Port of Captaine Savalet, he received them all as kindly as it was possible for him: And from thence they came to us, to the said Port of Campseau, where we tarried yet eight dayes. The third day of September, we weighed Anchors, and with much adoe came wee from among the Rockes, that be

Monsieur de Poutrincourt his going away.

The departing from New France.

about the said Campseau. Which our Mariners did with two shallops that did carrie their Anchors very farre into the Sea, for to uphold our ship, to the end she should not strike against the Rockes. Finally, being at Sea, one of the said shallops was let goe, and the other was taken into the Jonas, which besides our lading, did carrie 100000. of fish, as well drie as greene. Wee had reasonable good wind untill we came neere to the Lands of Europe: But we were not over-cloyed with good cheere, because that they who came to fetch us, presuming we were dead did cramme themselves with our refreshing commodities. Our Workemen dranke no more Wine, after we had left Port Royall: And we had but small portion thereof, because that which did over abound with us; was drunke merrily in the company of them that brought us newes from France. The sixe and twentieth of September wee had sight of the Sorlingues, which bee at the Lands end of Cornewall in England, and the eight and twentieth thinking to come to Saint Maloes.

The sight of the Sorlingues.

Harvest of New France, shewed to the King. [IV. viii. 1641.]

Being at Paris, the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt presented to the King with the fruits of the Land from whence he came, and especially the Corne, Wheate, Rie, Barley and Oates, as being the most precious thing that may be brought from what Countrey soever. The said Monsieur de Poutrincourt had bred tenne Outards, taken from the shell, which hee thought to bring all into France, but five of them were lost, and the other five he gave to the King, who delighted much in them; and they are at Fountaine Belleau. Upon the faire shew of the fruites of the said Countrey, the King did confirme to Monsieur de Monts the priviledge for the Trade of Bevers with the Savages, to the end to give him meanes to establish his Colonies in New France. And by this occasion he sent thither in March last, Families, there to beginne Christian and French Commonwealths, which God vouchsafe to blesse and increase.

Outards, or wild Geese presented to the King.

Priviledge of Bevers confirmed to Monsieur de Monts.

Three ships sent 1608.

Newes from New France since our comming from thence.

The said ships being returned, we have had report by Monsieur de Champdore, and others, of the state of the

Countrie which we had left, and of the wonderfull beautie of the Corne that the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt had sowed before his departure, together of the graines that bee fallen in the Gardens, which have so increased that it is an incredible thing. Membertou did gather six or seven barrels of the Corne that we had sowed: and had yet one left, which he reserved for the Frenchmen, whom he looked for, who arriving hee saluted with three Musket shots and Bonfires. When it was laid to his charge that he had eaten our Pidgeons, which wee left there, he fell a weeping, and embracing him that told it him, said, that it was the Macharoa, that is to say, the great Birds which are Eagles, which did eate many of them, while wee were there. Moreover, all great and small, did inquire how we did, naming every one by his owne name, which is a witnesse of great love.

It is very dangerous to teach the Savages the use of Guns.

Eagles.

From Port Royall, the said Champdore went as farre as Chouakouet, the beginning of the Armouchiquois Land, where hee pacified that Nation with the Etechemins, which was not done without solemnitie. For as hee had begun to speake of it, the Captaine, who is now insteed of Olmechin, named Astikou, a grave man and of a goodly presence, how savage soever hee be, demanded that some one of the said Etechemins should be sent to him, and that he would treat with him. Oagimont, Sagamos of the River Saint Croix, was appointed for that purpose, and he would not trust them, but under the assurance of the Frenchmen, he went thither. Some Presents were made to Astikou, who, upon the speech of peace, began to exhort his people and to shew them the causes that ought to induce them to hearken unto it. Whereunto they condiscended, making an exclamation at every Article that he propounded to them. Some five yeeres agoe Monsieur de Monts had likewise pacified those Nations, and had declared unto them, that he would bee enemie to the first of them that should begin the Warre, and would pursue him. But after his returne into France, they could not containe themselves in peace. And the

The Savages wisdome.

Armouchiquois did kill a Souriquois Savage, called Panoniac, who went to them for to trucke Merchandize, which he tooke at the Store-house of the said Monsieur de Monts. The Warre above mentioned happened by reason of this said murther, under the conduct of Sagamos Membertou: the said Warre was made in the very same place, where I now make mention, that Monsieur de Champdore did treate the peace this yeere. Monsieur Champlein is in another place, to wit, in the great River of Canada, neere the place where Captaine James Quartier did winter, where hee hath fortified him selfe, having brought thither housholds, with Cattle and divers sorts of fruit-trees. There is store of Vines, and excellent Hempe, in the same place where he is, which the earth bringeth forth of it selfe. He is not a man to be idle, and we expect shortly newes of the whole Discoverie of this great and uncomparable River, and of the Countries which it washeth on both sides, by the diligence of the said Champlein.

Monsieur Champlein is now in the River of Canada.

Cattell.
Fruit trees.
Vines.
Hempe.

As for Monsieur de Poutrincourt, his desire is immutable, in this resolution to inhabit and adorne his Province, to bring thither his family, and all sorts of Trades necessary for the life of man. Which, with Gods helpe hee will continue to effect all this present yeere 1609. And, as long as hee hath vigour and strength, will prosecute the same, to live there under the Kings obeysance.

Monsieur de Poutrincourt his resolution. 1609.

The Authour hath written another large Booke of the Rites of the Savages of those parts, which I have omitted, partly because Champlein in the former Chapiter hath given us large instructions of the same, and because in our Virginian, and New England, and New-found-land, our men will relate the like; and because I seeke to bee short, howsoever my Subject causeth mee to bee voluminous.

Chap. VIII.

[IV. viii. 1642.]

Collections out of a French Booke, called Additions to Nova Francia; containing the Accidents there, from the yeere 1607. to 1611.

Onsieur de Monts having his priviledge prorogued for one yeare, with some associates, sent unto his Government three Ships, furnished with men and victuals. And forasmuch as Monsieur de Poutrincourt hath taken his part on the maine Sea, and for the desire that Monsieur de Monts hath to pierce through the Land to the Westerne Sea coast, to the end he should not be an hinderance unto him, and to be able thereby to reach one day to China, he determined to fortifie himselfe in a place of the River of Canada, which the Savages call Kebec, some fortie leagues above the River of Saguenay. There it is narrower, being no broader then a Canon will carry: and so, by that reason, the place is commodious to command, through all that great River. Monsieur Champlein, the Kings Geographer, very skilfull in Sea matters, and who delighteth marveilously in these enterprises, tooke upon him the charge of conducting, and governing this first Colonie, sent to Kebec. Where being arrived, it was needefull to make houses for him, and his company; wherein there was no toyle wanting, such as we may imagine, as was the labour of Captaine Jacques Quartier, at his arrivall in the place of the said River, where he wintered: and so Monsieur de Monts, in the Ile of Saint Croix; whereby did issue unknowne sicknesses, which tooke away many men: for there was not found any Timber ready to be put in worke, nor any buildings to lodge the workemen in: they were driven to fell downe the wood by the roote, to cleare the ground, and to lay the first foundations of a worke, which (with the helpe of God) shall be the subject of many wonders.

Monsi. de Monts his sending of Ships.

Note the intention of the French.

Kebec 40. leag. above Saguenay.

Champlein.

But as our Frenchmen have oftentimes bin found mutinous in such actions, so there were some among these, *A conspiracy.* which did conspire against the said Champlein their Captaine, having deliberated to put him to death, first by poison, afterwards by a traine of Gunpowder: and after, having pilfered all, to come to Tadoussac, where Baskes and Rochell Ships were, to make their returne in them to these parts. But the Apothecary, of whom the poyson was demanded, disclosed the matter. Whereupon, *Exemplary punishment.* Information being made, one of them was hanged, and some others condemned to the Gallies, which were brought backe into France, in the Ship, wherein Monsieur du Pont of Honfleur was Commander.

The people being lodged, some store of Corne was sowed, and a number of Gardens were made, where the ground did restore plentifully the seedes received. This *The naturall fruite of the land.* Land bringeth forth, naturally, Grapes in great quantity: the Walnut-trees are there in abundance, and Chestnut-trees also, whose fruite is in the forme of an halfe moone; but the Walnuts are with many corners or edges, which be not divided. There is also great store of Pumpions, and very excellent Hempe, wherewith the Savages make fishing lines. The River there doth abound with as much fish, as any other River in the world. It is thought, that Bevers, are not here so good, as upon the coast of the Etechemins and Souriquois; yet notwithstanding, I may say very well, that I have seene skins from thence of *Blacke Foxes.* blacke Foxes, which seeme to exceede Sables, or Marterns.

The winter being come, many of our Frenchmen, were found greatly afflicted with the sickenesse, which is called *Scurvie.* the Scurvie, whereof I have spoken elsewhere, Some of them died thereof, for want of present remedy. As for the tree called Annedda, so much renowned by Jacques Quartier, it is not now to be found. The said Champlein made diligent search for the same, and could have no newes thereof: and notwithstanding his dwelling is at Kebec, neighbouring on the place, where the said Quartier did winter. Whereupon, I can thinke nothing else, but

that the people of that time, have bin exterminated by the Iroquois, or other their enemies.

The Spring time being come, Champlein having had a long time a minde to make new discoveries, was to choose, either to make his way to the Iroquois, or to goe beyond the fall of the great River, to discover the great Lake, whereof mention hath bin made heretofore. Notwithstanding, because the Southerly Countries are more pleasant, for their milde temperature; he resolved himselfe, the first yeare, to visite the Iroquois. But the difficulty consisted in the going thither; for we are not able of our selves to make those Voyages, without the assistance of the Savages. These Countries are not the Plaines of Champaigne, nor of Vatan, nor the ingratefull wood of Limosin. All is there covered with woods, that seeme to threaten the clouds. And at that time his company of men was but weake, as well by reason of the former mortality, as of the infirmities of sicknesses, which were yet continuing. Notwithstanding, being a man, who is astonished with nothing, and of a gentle conversation, knowing wisely how to acquaint, and accommodate himselfe with those people, after having promised them, that when the land of the Iroquois, and other Countries should be discovered, the great French Sagamos (meaning our King) would give them great rewards: he invited them to goe to warre against the said Iroquois, promising (for himselfe) that he would take part with them. They (in whom the desire of revenge dieth not, and who delight in nothing more then in warre) passe their word unto him, and arme themselves about one hundred men, for that effect, with whom the said Champlein, ventures himselfe, accompanied with one man, and one of Monsieur de Monts his footemen. So they began their voyage in the Savages Barkes, and Canoes, alongst the great River, as farre as the entring into the River of the Iroquois: wherein being entred, within certaine dayes, they went up unto the Lake of the said Iroquois. But one may demand with what did so many people live, in a Countrie

Lib. 3. cap. 22.

Champleins counsell.

[IV. viii. 1643.]

Their Voiage to the Iroquois.

where no Innes are? I wonder as much at that as others doe; for with them there is not any meanes of living, but by hunting; and in that, they doe exercise themselves through the woods in their travailes. Champlein and his men, were forced to live after their manner. For although they had made provision of Bread, Wine, and Meate, out of the storehouse, the same could not have served them, to make accompt of. Finally, being come into the said Lake, they were many dayes a crossing of it (for it is about sixtie leagues of length) without giving knowledge of their being there, and so the said Champlein had time to view their Tillage, and the faire Ilands, that serve for an ornament to their great extension of water. These people are much like to the Armouchiquois, in their fashion of living. They sowe Indian Maiz and Beanes, and have quantity of faire Grapes, whereof they make no use: and very good rootes. Every Family have their ground round about their dwellings; Forts also, yet no Townes, made with buildings of three or foure stories high, such as they have in new Mexico (a Countrie situated much farther within the lands.)

Their arrival at the Lake which is sixtie leagues long.

Faire Ilands in the Lake. The Iroquois, and their exercise.

Houses of foure stories.

In the end, our men being discovered, the alarum was given among the Iroquois, who assembled themselves. And as the Iroquois did approach, Champlein, who was armed with a Musket, charged with two bullets, would have set himselfe forward to aime, to make at one of the forwardest of the Iroquois, who did brave it, challenging his enemies to the combat. But the Savages of Kebec told him in their language, no, doe not so, for if they once discover you, not being accustomed to see such folkes, they will forthwith runne away, and make no stand; so shall we loose the glory which we expect of this charge; withdraw your selfe therefore behinde our formost ranke, and when we shall be neere, you shall advance your selfe, and shoote at those two feathered fellowes, whom you see the formost, in the middest of the troope; which was found good, and executed by the said Champlein, who with one shot laid them both to the ground, as he hath

The alarum among the Iroquois.

The Prudence of the Savages.

related unto us. He, who assisted him, did also his duetie. But on a sodaine, all was in disorder, astonished at such a noise, and death so unexpected. Upon this feare, the men of Kebec loosing no occasion, followed earnestly their enemies, and killed about fiftie of them, whose heads they brought backe, to make therewith merry feasts, and dances, at their returne, according to their custome.

Flight.

Fiftie of the Iroquois slaine.

These things so passed, Champlein tooke againe his course towards ancient France, where he arrived in October 1609. having left the government of New France to a good reverent old man called Captaine Pierre. And for as much as the accidents of the former sicknesse, were feared to come; the winter following, Captaine du Pont of Honfleure (a man very well worthy to hold ranke among the Heroes of the said Province, for having bin the first that came to the Fals of the great River, after Jacques Quartier, having also wintered in Port Royall, and almost every yeare, made voyages to those parts, for the reliefe of them that were there) gave advise, that wood should be ready cut downe, for those that should tarry there all the winter, and thereby to free them from painfull toyles. That helpe hath bin of such force, that besides this, having their buildings made, they have left no infirmitie nor mortality. So he returned, and with him the said Champlein, and those that would returne.

1609.

Capt. Pierre.

Capt. du Pont.

None died, nor were sicke.

In the meane while, preparations were made for another voyage, against the returne of the said Champlein, to the end to prosecute his discoveries, and consequently, to relieve the said Captaine Pierre. He tooke againe for the second time the Lieutenancy of the said Monsieur de Monts, for the government of Kebec, and setting out in the beginning of March, was forced divers times to turne backe, by reason of contrary windes; which made him to arrive late, as did also Monsieur de Poutrincourt, of his part. And neverthelesse, in that small time, which hee had in those parts, he exploited a great peece of worke, having gone this yeare, as farre as a great Lake, of an

1610.

Champlein his new Voyage.

A Lake of an hundred leag. in length, discovered.

hundred leagues in length, which is beyond the Fals of the great River of Canada eighty leagues.

Having then reviewed the state of all things at Kebec, and learned what occurrences had passed there, since his departure; he made an agreement with the Captaines of the said place, and with them of Tadoussac, to goe on warfare above the Fall of the said River, promising them to procure an hundred Frenchmen, to assist them in the extirping of all their enemies: and that they should have as many of their owne men, of their side, which they liked very well. But the day appointed being come, and the Frenchmen not come, he excused the matter upon the weather, which had beene boistrous for Sailers: and for want of whom, hee told them, that himselfe would goe with them, and follow their fortunes. They seeing they could doe no better, accepted of his offer, and went together with some other Frenchmen more, along the same faire River: the Savages still hunting for provision for the kitchin. And they travailed so farre, that after having passed the Fals, they crossed some Lakes, and in the space of eighty leagues, came to that other Lake, which we have said to be of an hundred leagues in length: where (as the said Champlein hath recited unto me) they were presently set upon by the Savages of the Country, and it was behoovefull unto them, to stand in good order, & well to defend themselves, after the said Champlein had received a blow on the chine bone, whereof he is not yet fully healed. Since, he made a confederacy with other Nations of those parts, farther distant from the mouth of the Lake, who promised him, that the next yeare following (which is this yeare 1611.) they would conduct him with all assurance, as far as the farthest end of the said Lake. He, for his part, promised them faire, and shewed them as well as he could, the greatnesse of our King, and of his Kingdome; and for to make them certaine thereof, he tooke with him a yong man, sonne of a Captaine of those parts, called Savignon, a man of a good shape, strong, vigorous, and of great courage, whom he hath

Agreement to goe to war, towards the great Lake.

[IV. viii. 1644.]

A Battell.

1611.

brought into France, to make report, upon his returne, of that which he hath seene. This Country (by the report of the said Champlein) is one of the fairest Countries of the world, much tilled, abounding with chase Deere, and Fish, Vines, Hempe, good Roots, Walnut-trees, Chestnut-trees, Plumtrees, and others. *A faire Countrey.*

There are store of Bevers along this Lake, but the Inhabitants doe burne them, as here wee burne Hogges: and so by that meanes, that haire and wooll, which we goe so farre of, and with so many perils to seeke for, is lost. There are Beasts great and small, differing from ours, and Horses, as the said Savignon hath shewed us, by the neighing. But I dare not give for currant that which Monsieur de Monts hath recited unto me, that these Nations have tame Beares, which they teach, to carry them upon trees for want of ladders. They have Forts, such as they of Virnia have, which are great inclosures with trees, joyned together in forme like a Pale, and within those inclosures are houses made, two or three stories high. The lower and higher parts doe serve for the men when they must defend themselves from the assalts of their enemies. For in the lower parts there are big Bowes, for the bending of which, the strength of six men is required, and they have Arrowes, that knocke downe men. Above, they have murthering holes, or battlements, from whence to fling or cast stones, and also to shoote with Bowes, when they will hit their enemies a farre off. In the middle roomes are the women, which faile not in doing that helpe which their sexe may affoord. And in this middle story, they lay up their Corne and other provisions. *Bevers burnt.* *Horses.* *Merveilous industry.* *Forts & towns.* *Houses with stories.* *Strong bowes.*

Champlein promiseth us never to give over untill he have pierced as farre as to the Western Sea, or that of the North, to open the way of China; in vaine by so many thought for. As for the Western Sea, I beleeve that at the farther end of the greatest Lake, which is very far beyond that whereof we spake of in this Chapter, there will be found some great River, which will fall into *Hope for the passage to China.* *Some great River running Westward into the Westerne Sea.*

the same, or issue from it (as doth that of Canada) and never into the said Westerne Sea. And as for the Northerne Sea, there is hope to come neere to it by the River of Saguenay, there being but small distance from the head of the said River, to the said Sea.

The Northern Sea.

It is now fit to speake of Monsieur de Poutrincourt, a Gentleman of long time resolute in these actions, who having made his preparation at Diepe, set saile the 25. of February 1610. with a number of honest men, and Artificers. This Navigation hath bin very tedious and troublesome; for from the beginning they were driven within sight of the Azores, and from thence, almost continually beaten with contrary windes, by the space of two moneths: during which time (as idle people doe commonly occupie their spirits in evill) some, by secret practises, durst conspire against their Captaine, whom notwithstanding, the said Poutrincourt, according to his accustomed clemency, did pardon.

1610.

A tedious Navigation.

A conspiracy.

Having made a review of that coast, he came into Port Royall, where he brought much consolation to the Savages of that place. As for the buildings, they were found all whole, except the covering, and every parcell of houshold stuffe, in the same place where they were left.

Their arrivall at Port Royall.

Buildings and houshold stuffe preserved.

The first care that the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt had, was for the tillage of the ground, and to dispose it to receive the seede of corne, for the yeare following; which being finished, hee would not neglect that which belonged to the spiritualty, and whereunto the chiefest aime of his travailes did tend, which was, to procure the salvation of those poore savage and barbarous people. After necessary instruction given, they were baptized upon Saint John Baptist his day, the foure and twentieth of June, 1610. to the number of one and twenty persons; to every one of which was given the name of some great or notable person of these parts.

Tillage of the ground.

The first Christenings made in New France.

1. Membertou great Sagamos, being above an hundred yeares of age, was baptized by Sir Jesse Fleche Prieste, and named by Monsieur de Poutrincourt, Henry, after

Sagamos doth signifie a Prince, Ruler, or Captaine.

the Kings name. 2. Actaudinech, third Sonne of the said Henry Membertou, was by the said Poutrincourt, named Paul, after the name of Pope Paul. 3. The wife of the said Henry, was named by the said Poutrincourt, after the Queenes name, that is to say, Marie. 4. Momberto-coichis, alias Judas, elder sonne to Membertou, being above sixety yeares old, was also baptized, and by Monsieur de Bicucour, named Lewes, after the name of my Lord the Daulphin, &c. *The King was then slaine which they knew not.*

Membertou, chiefe Sagamos of these Countries, moved with a religious zeale (but without knowledge) saith, that he will denounce open wars against all them that will refuse to become Christians. [IV. viii. 1645.]

Shortly after these spirituall regenerations, Monsieur de Poutrincourt his son was sent backe into France to take a new charge: In doing whereof, he certified the Queene, what had bin done in those Christenings; whereby she received a marveilous contentment. But this one thing is to be noted, that though the Navigation were tedious in going, yet in the returne it was very short; for being come to the fishing banke, which is fiftie leagues on this side New-found-land, he was brought in a fortnight into France, in which time they commonly make their returne. Upon the Banke they heare the newes of our good Kings death, whose soule resteth with God, and whose posterity we pray God to blesse. *A returne into France.*

The Author reports another Voyage 1611. by the Lord of Sant Just; but I have haste to the English Plantation, for whose sake these are published: there being no great matter of history of those parts therein. As for the Articles of a Societie concluded, and the names of those which entred therein, till we have greater effect thereof, I shall not trouble you with the recitall thereof.

Chap. IX.

The first plantation of English Colonies in Virginia briefly mentioned.

The first Voyage to Virginia and possession taken.

SIr Walter Raleigh, a man more famous then happy, had obtained of Queene Elizabeth, of glorious memory, a Patent for discovering and peopling of unknowne parts not actually possessed by any Christian Prince, dated March 25. A. Reg. 26. The 27. of Aprill, 1584. he set forth two Barkes under the command of Master Phillip Amadas, and Master Arthur Barlow, which arrived on that part of America, which that Virgin Queene stiled Virginia, and thereof in her Majesties name tooke possession July 13. and having taken view and liking of the Countrey, and had conference and trade with the Savages, observing above foureteene severall sweete smelling timber trees, and many other commodities; they returned with two of the Savages, Wanchese and Manteo, and arrived in England in September.

Virginia named so by Q. Elizabeth.

Second Voyage. Sir R. Greenevile.

Aprill 9. 1585. Sir Richard Greenevile was sent by Sir Walter Raleigh with a fleete of seven saile, which landed in the Ile of Saint John Port Ricco, May 12. and there fortified themselves, and built a Pinnace. The Spaniard promised to furnish them with victuals, but did not, whereupon they tooke two Frigates. In Hispaniola they had friendly greetings and trade. June 26. they anchored at Wocokon, where by the unskilfulnesse of Fernando the Master, their Admirall strooke on ground and sunke.

Spanish Prise.

In the 25. of July, the Generall returned for England, and tooke a Spanish Ship of three hundred tunne richly laden by the way, boording her with a Boate made of the boords of Chests, which as soone as hee had boorded her fell in sunder and sunke at the Ships side. In the Countrie

First Colony.

was a Colonie, left under the government of Master Ralph Lane, viz, Master Phillip Amadas, Master Hariot, Master

Acton, Master Edward Stafford, Master Prideox, Captaine Vaughan, and above a hundred others. Master Lane writ from his new Fort in Virginia, that if Virginia had Kine and Horses in reasonable proportion, no Countrie in Christendome were comparable to it. They discovered from Roanoak to the Chesepians, above one hundred and thirty miles, to Chawanock North-West as farre. The Savages conspired against the English, the principall was Pemisapan, who lost his head in the quarrell, in the beginning of June 1586. and Sir Francis Drake comming thither *Sir F. Drake.* from the sacke of divers Spanish Townes, to visite the Colony, on the nineteenth, tooke the Colony with him in his victorious Fleete, and brought them into England.

The same yeere had Sir Walter Raleigh prepared a ship *Third Voyage.* of a hundred tun, fraught with provision for the Colonie, which setting forth late, arrived at Hartoraske immediatly after the departure of the Colonie, which having sought in vaine, she returned with her provisions for England. About a fortnight after her departure, Sir Richard Greenevile, Generall of Virginia, accompanied with three Ships arrived there, and neither hearing of the Ship, nor *Fourth Voyage.* of the Colonie which he had left there the yeare before; after long and vaine search, he left fifteene men to hold *Second Colonie.* possession of the Countrie, in the Ile of Roanoak, furnished for two yeares, and returned, by the way making spoyle on the Townes of the Azores, and there taking divers Spaniards. Master Thomas Hariot writ a large *Master Thomas Hariot.* History of the Men, Beasts, Fishes, Fowles, Plants, and Commodities of Virginia, subscribed also by Master Ralph Lane, extant in Master Hackluit his third Tome.

In the yeare 1587. Sir Walter Raleigh, continuing his *Fifth Voyage and third Colonie.* purpose of Plantation, sent another Colonie of one hundred and fiftie persons, under the government of Master John White; to him he appointed twelve Assistants, unto whom he gave a Charter, and incorporated them by the name of Governour and Assistants of the Citie of [IV. viii. Raleigh in Virginia. These arrived on July 22. at 1646.] Hatoraske, where they went on shore to seeke the fifteene

men left there the yeare before, with intent after to plant at the Bay of Chesepiok, according to Sir Walter Raleigh his directions, there to make their seate and Fort. By Manteo they learned how the Savages had secretly assalted the fifteene English, and slaine some, the other being forced to flee, it was not knowne whither. Manteo was Christened, and by Sir Walter Raleighs direction, made Lord of Roanoak. Mistris Dare the Governours daughter was delivered of a daughter, which was baptised by the name of Virginia.

Bay of Chesepiok.

English borne there.

The Company were very important with the Governour, to returne for England, to supply their defects; to which, with much unwillingnesse he yeelded, Aug. 27. and Octob. 16. arrived in Ireland, and after in England.

Sixth Voyage. Anno 1590. the said Master John White put to Sea with Ships, and two Pinnaces, with purpose for Virginia, where they anchored at Hatorask in 36. 20. Aug. 15. They found some of the goods (such as the Savages could not make use of) and tokens as if they were at Croatoan; but the winds violence permitted no further search, and they returned to the Azores, and after to England, arriving at Plimmouth, Octob. 24.

Master Bartholomew Gosnolds Letter to his Father, touching his first Voyage to Virginia, 1602.

MY duetie remembred, &c. Sir, I was in good hope that my occasions would have allowed mee so much libertie, as to have come unto you before this time; otherwise I would have written more at large concerning the Countrie from whence we lately came, then I did: but not well remembring what I have already written (though I am assured that there is nothing set downe disagreeing with the truth) I thought it fittest not to goe about to adde any thing in writing, but rather to leave the report of the rest till I come my selfe; which now I hope shall be shortly, and so soone as with conveniency I may. In the meane time, notwithstanding whereas you seeme not to be satisfied by that which I have already written, con-

cerning some especiall matters. I have here briefely (and as well as I can) added these few lines for your further satisfaction: and first as touching that place where we were most resident, it is in the Latitude of 41. degrees, and one third part; which albeit it be so much to the Southward, yet is it more cold then those parts of Europe, which are scituated under the same paralell: but one thing is worth the noting, that notwithstanding the place is not so much subject to cold as England is, yet did we finde the Spring to be later there, then it is with us here, by almost a moneth: this whether it hapned accidentally this last Spring to be so, or whether it be so of course, I am not very certaine; the latter seemes most likely, whereof also there may be given some sufficient reason, which now I omit: as for the Acornes we saw gathered on heapes, they were of the last yeare, but doubtlesse their Summer continues longer then ours. We cannot gather by any thing we could observe in the people, or by any triall we had thereof our selves; but that it is as healthfull a Climate as any can be. The Inhabitants there, as I wrote before, being of tall stature, comely proportion, strong, active, and some of good yeares, and as it should seeme very healthfull, are sufficient proofe of the healthfulnesse of the place. First, for our selves (thankes be to God) we had not a man sicke two dayes together in all our Voyage; whereas others that went out with us, or about that time on other Voyages (especially such as went upon reprisall) were most of them infected with sicknesse, whereof they lost some of their men, and brought home a many sicke, returning notwithstanding long before us. But Verazzano, and others (as I take it, you may reade in the Booke of Discoveries) doe more particularly intreate of the Age of the people in that coast. The Sassafras which we brought we had upon the Ilands: where though we had little disturbance, and reasonable plenty: yet for that the greatest part of our people were imployed about the fitting of our house, and such like affaires, and a few (and those but easie labourers) under-

tooke this worke, the rather because we were informed before our going forth, that a tunne was sufficient to cloy England) and further, for that we had resolved upon our returne, and taken view of our victuall, we judged it then needefull to use expedition; which afterward we had more certaine proofe of; for when we came to an anker before Portsmouth, which was some foure dayes after we made the land, we had not one Cake of Bread, nor any drinke, but a little Vinegar, left: for these and other reasons, we returned no otherwise laden then you have heard. And thus much I hope shall suffice till I can my selfe come to give you further notice, which though it be not so soone as I could have wisht, yet I hope it shall be in convenient time. In the meane time craving your pardon, for which the urgent occasions of my stay will pleade, I humbly take my leave. 7. Septemb. 1602.

Your dutifull Sonne,

BARTH. GOSNOLD.

[IV. viii. 1647.]

Chap. X.

The Relation of Captaine Gosnols Voyage to the North part of Virginia, begunne the sixe and twentieth of March, Anno 42. Elizabethæ Reginæ 1602. and delivered by Gabriel Archer, a Gentleman in the said Voyage.

THE said Captaine did set sayle from Falmouth, the day and yeere above written accompanied with thirtie two persons, whereof eight Mariners and Saylers, twelve purposing upon the Discovery to returne with the ship for England, the rest remayne there for population. The fourteenth of Aprill following, wee had sight of Saint Maries an Iland of the Assoris.

The three and twentieth of the same, beeing two hundred leagues Westwards from the said Iland in the latitude of 37. degrees, the water in the mayne Ocean

appeared yellow, the space of two leagues North and South, where sounding with thirtie fadome Line, wee found no ground, and taking up some of the said water in a bucket, it altered not either in colour or taste from the Sea Azure. *Ocean seeming yellow.*

The seventh of May following, we first saw many Birds in bignesse of Cliffe Pidgeons, and after divers other as Pettrels, Cootes, Hagbuts, Pengwins, Murres, Gannets, Cormorants, Guls, with many else in our English Tongue of no name. The eight of the same the water changed to a yellowish greene, where at seventie fadome we had ground. The ninth, wee had two and twentie fadome in faire sandie ground, having upon our Lead many glittering Stones, somewhat heavie, which might promise some Minerall matter in the bottome, we held our selves by computation, well neere the latitude of 43. degrees.

The tenth wee sounded in 27. 30. 37. 43. fadome, and then came to 108. some thought it to be the sounding of the Westermost end of Saint Johns Iland, upon this banke we saw sculs of fish in great numbers. The twelfth we hoysed out halfe of our shallop, and sounding had then eightie fadome without any current perceived by William Strete the Master, one hundred leagues Westward from Saint Maries til we came to the foresaid soundings continually passed fleeting by us Sea-oare, which seemed to have their moveable course towards the North-east, a matter to set some subtle invention on worke, for comprehending the true cause thereof. The thirteenth, wee sounded in seventie fadome, and observed great beds of weedes, much woode and divers things else floating by us, when as we had smelling of the shoare, such as from the Southerne Cape and Andulazia in Spaine. *Sea-oare.* *Smell of the shoare.*

The fourteenth, about six in the morning we descried Land that lay North, &c. the Northerly part we called the North Land, which to another Rocke upon the same lying twelve leagues West, that wee called Savage Rocke, because the Savages first shewed themselves there, five leagues towards the said Rocke is an out Point of woodie *Savage Rocke.*

ground, the Trees thereof very high and straight, from the Rocke East North-east. From the said Rocke, came towards us a Biscay shallop with saile and Oares, having eight persons in it, whom we supposed at first to bee Christians distressed. But approching us neere, wee *Savages.* perceived them to bee Savages. These comming within call hayled us, and wee answered. Then after signes of peace, and a long speech by one of them made, they came boldly aboord us being all naked, saving about their shoulders certaine loose Deere-skinnes, and neere their wastes Seale-skinnes tyed fast like to Irish Dimmie Trouses. One that seemed to be their Commander wore a Waste-coate of blacke worke, a paire of Breeches, cloth Stockings, Shooes, Hat, and Band, one or two more had also a few *Their behaviour.* things made by some Christians, these with a piece of Chalke described the Coast thereabouts, and could name Placentia of the New-found-land, they spake divers Christian words, and seemed to understand much more then we, for want of Language could comprehend. These people are in colour swart, their haire long up tyed with a knot in the part of behind the head. They paint their bodies, which are strong and well proportioned. These much desired our longer stay, but finding our selves short of our purposed place, we set saile Westwards, leaving them and their Coast. About sixteene leagues South-west from thence, wee perceived in that course two small Ilands, the one lying Eastward from Savage Rock, the other to the Southwards of it, the Coast we left was full of goodly Woods, faire Plaines, with little greene round Hils above the Cliffes appearing unto us, which are indifferently raised, but all Rockie, and of shining stones, which might have perswaded us a longer stay there.

The fifteenth day we had againe sight of the Land, which made a head being as wee thought an Iland, by reason of a large sound that appeared Westward betweene it and the Mayne, for comming to the West end thereof, *Shole hope.* we did perceive a large opening, we called it Shole-hope: Neere this Cape we came to Anchor in fifteene fadome,

where wee tooke great store of Cod-fish, for which we altered the name, and called it Cape Cod. Here wee saw sculs of Herrings, Mackerels and other small fish in great abundance. This is a low sandie shoare, but without danger, also wee came to Anchor againe in sixteene fadome, faire by the Land in the latitude of 42. degrees. This Cape is well neere a mile broad, and lieth North-east by East. The Captaine went here ashoare and found the ground to be full of Pease, Strawberies, Hurtberies, &c. as then unripe, the sand also by the shoare somewhat deepe, the fire-wood there by us taken in was of Cypresse, Birch, Wich-hazell and Beech. A young Indian came here to the Captaine, armed with his Bow and Arrowes, and had certaine plates of Copper hanging at his Eares, hee shewed a willingnesse to helpe us in our occasions.

Cape Cod.

[IV. viii. 1648.]

The sixteenth, we trended the Coast Southerly, which was all champaine and full of grasse, but the Ilands somewhat wooddie. Twelve leagues from Cape Cod, we descried a point, with some breach a good distance off, and keeping our loffe to double it, wee came on the sudden into shoale water, yet well quitted our selves thereof. This breach wee called Tuckers Terror, upon his expressed feare. The Point we named Point Care, having passed it wee bore up againe with the Land, and in the night came with it anchoring in eight fadome, the ground good. The seventeenth, appeared many breaches round about us, so as wee continued that day without remoove.

Tuckers Terror.

Point Care.

The eighteenth, being faire we sent forth the Boat, to sound over a Breach, that in our course lay of another Point, by us called Gilberts Point; who returned us foure, five, sixe and seven fadome over. Also a Discovery of divers Ilands which after prooved to bee Hils and Hummocks, distinct within the Land. This day there came unto the ships side divers Canoas; the Indians apparelled as aforesaid, with Tobacco and Pipes steeled with Copper, Skins, artificiall strings and other trifles to barter, one had hanging about his necke a plate of rich Copper in length a foot, in breadth halfe a foot for a brest-plate, the Eares of all

Gilberts Point.

Divers Ilands.

Savages.

the rest had Pendants of Copper. Also one of them had his face over painted, and his head stucke with feathers in manner of a Turkey Cocks traine: These are more timerous then those of the Savage Rocke, yet very theevish.

The nineteenth, we passed over the breach of Gilberts Point in foure or five fadome, and anchored a league or somewhat more beyond it; betweene the last two Points are two leagues, the interim, along shoale water, the latitude here is 41. degrees two third parts.

Pengwins. The twentieth, by the ships side we there killed Pengwins, and saw many sculs of fish. The Coast from Gilberts Point to the supposed Iles lyeth East and by South. Here also we discovered two Inlets which might promise fresh water, inwardly whereof we perceived much smoake, as though some population had there beene: This Coast is very full of people, for that as we trended the same Savages still runne along the shoare, as men much admiring at us.

The one and twentieth, we went coasting from Gilberts Point to the supposed Iles, in tenne, nine, eight, seven, and sixe fadome close aboord the shoare, and that depth lyeth a league off. A little from the supposed Iles appeared unto us an opening, with which we stood judging it to bee the end of that which Captaine Gosnoll descrieth from Cape Cod, and as hee thought to extend some thirtie or more miles in length, and finding there but three fadomes a league off, we omitted to make further discoverie of the same, calling it Shole-hope.

From this opening the Mayne lyeth South-west, which coasting along we saw a disinhabited Iland which so afterwards appeared unto us: we bore with it, and named it Marthaes Vineyard, from Shole-hope it is eight leagues in circuit, the Iland is five miles, and hath 41. degrees and one quarter of latitude: the place most pleasant; for the two and twentieth, we went ashoare, and found it full of Wood, Vines, Gooseberie bushes, Hurtberies,

Marthaes Vineyard.

Raspices, Eglentine, &c. Heere we had Cranes, Hearnes, Shoulers Geese, and divers other Birds which there at that time upon the Cliffes being sandie with some Rockie stones, did breed and had young. In this place we saw Deere, heere we rode in eight fathome neere the shoare, where wee tooke great store of Cod, as before at Cape Cod, but much better.

The three and twentieth wee weyed, and towards night came to Anchor at the Northwest part of this Iland, where the next morning offered unto us fast running thirteene Savages apparelled as aforesaid, and armed with Bowes and Arrowes without any feare. They brought Tobacco, Deere skins and some sodden fish. These offered themselves unto us in great familiaritie, who seemed to be well conditioned. They came more rich in Copper then any before. This Iland is sound, and hath no danger about it.

The foure and twentieth, we set saile and doubled the Cape of another Iland next unto it, which wee called Dover Cliffe, and then came into a faire Sound, where wee roade all night, the next morning wee sent off our Boate to discover another Cape, that lay betweene us and the Mayne, from which were a ledge of Rockes a mile into the Sea, but all above water, and without danger, we went about them, and came to Anchor in eight fadome, a quarter of a mile from the shoare in one of the stateliest Sounds that ever I was in. This called wee Gosnolls Hope; the North banke whereof is the Mayne, which stretcheth East and West. This Iland Captaine Gosnoll called Elizabeths Ile, where we determined our abode: the distance betweene every of these Ilands is, viz. from Marthaes Vineyard to Dover Cliffe, halfe a league over the Sound, thence to Elizabeths Ile one league distant. From Elizabeths Ile unto the Mayne is foure leagues. On the North side neere adjoyning unto the Iland Elizabeth, is an Ilet in compasse halfe a myle full of Cedars, by me called Hills Hap, to the Northward of which in the mouth of an opening on the Mayne appeareth another the like, that I

Dover-cliffe-sound.

Gosnolls Hope.

Elizabeths Ile.

[IV. viii. 1649.]

Hills Hap.

Haps Hill. called Haps Hill, for that I hope much hap may be expected from it.

The five and twentieth, it was that we came from Gosnolls Hope. The six and twentieth, we trimmed and fitted up our Shallop. The seven and twentieth, there came unto us an Indian and two women; the one we supposed to be his Wife, the other his Daughter, both cleane and straite bodied, with countenance sweet and pleasant. To these the Indian gave heedfull attendance for that they shewed them in much familiaritie with our men, although they would not admit of any immodest touch.

Elizabeths Ile in 41. degrees 10. minutes described.

The eight and twentieth we entred counsell about our abode and plantation, which was concluded to be in the West part of Elizabeths Iland. The North-east thereof running from out our ken. The South and North standeth in an equall Parallel. This Iland in the Westerside admitteth some Increekes, or sandie Coves, so girded, as the water in some places of each side meeteth, to which the Indians from the Mayne doe oftentimes resort for fishing of Crabs. There is eight fadome very neere the shoare, and the latitude here is 41. degrees 10. minutes, the breadth from Sound to Sound in the Wester part is not passing a mile at most, altogether unpeopled and disinhabited. It is over-growne with Wood and Rubbish, viz. Okes, Ashes, Beech, Wal-nut, Weech-halfe, Sassafrage, and Cedars, with divers other of unknowne names. The Rubbish is wild Peaze, young Sassafrage, Cherie trees, Vines, Eglentine, Goose-berie bushes, Hawthorne, Honisuckles, with others of like qualitie. The herbs and Roots are Strawberies, Raspis, Ground Nuts, Alexander, Surrin, Tansie, &c. without count. Touching the fertilitie of the soyle by our owne experience made, we found it to be excellent for sowing some English pulse it sprowted out in one fortnight almost halfe a foot. In this Iland is a stage or Pond of fresh water, in circuit two miles, on the one side not distant from the Sea thirtie yards, in the Centre whereof is a Rockie Islet, contayning neere an

Acre of ground full of wood, on which wee beganne our Fort and place of abode, disposing it selfe so fit for the same. These Indians call Gold Wassador, which argueth there is thereof in the Countrey. *Fort begun.*

The nine and twentieth, we laboured in getting of Sassafrage, rubbishing our little Fort or Ilet, new keeling our shallop; and making a Punt or Flat bottome Boate to passe to and fro our Fort over the fresh water, the powder of Sassafrage in twelve houres cured one of our Company that had taken a great Surfet by eating the bellies of Dog-fish, a very delicious meate.

The thirtieth, Captaine Gosnoll with divers of his company went upon pleasure in the shallop towards Hills Hap to view it, and the Sandie Cove, and returning brought with him a Canoa that foure Indians had there left being fled away for feare of our English, which we brought into England.

The one and thirtieth, Captaine Gosnoll desirous to see the Maine, because of the distance, hee set sayle over; where comming to anchor, went ashoare with certaine of his companie, and immediately there presented unto him men women and children, who with all curteous kindnesse entertayned him, giving him certaine skinnes of wilde beasts, which may be rich Furres, Tobacco, Turtles, Hempe, artificiall Strings coloured, Chaines, and such like things as at the instant they had about them. These are a faire conditioned people. On all the Sea coast along we found Mussell shells that in colour did represent Mother-of-pearle, but not having meanes to dredge, could not apprehend further knowledge thereof. This Maine is the goodliest Continent that ever we saw, promising more by farre then we any way did expect: for it is replenished with faire fields, and in them fragrant Flowers, also Medowes, and hedged in with stately Groves, being furnished also with pleasant Brookes, and beautified with two maine Rivers that (as wee judge) may haply become good Harbours, and conduct us to the hopes men so greedily doe thirst after. In the mouth of one of these *The people.* *Goodly Countrey.*

Inlets or Rivers lieth that little Ile before mentioned, called Happes Hill, from which unto the Westermost end of the Maine, appearing where the other Inlet is, I account some five leagues, and the Coast betweene bendeth like a Bow, and lyeth East and by North. Beyond these two Inlets we might perceive the Mayne to beare up South-west, and more Southerly. Thus with this taste of Discovery, we now contented our selves, and the same day made returne unto our Fort, time not permitting more sparing delay.

The first of June, we employed our selves in getting Sassafrage, and the building of our Fort. The second, third and fourth, we wrought hard to make readie our house for the provision to bee had ashore to sustaine us till our ships returne. This day from the Mayne came to our ships side a Canoa, with their Lord or chiefe Commander, for that they made little stay only pointing to the Sunne, as in signe that the next day hee would come and visit us, which hee did accordingly.

The fifth, wee continued our labour, when there came unto us ashoare from the Mayne fiftie Savages, stout and lustie men with their Bowes and Arrowes, amongst them there seemed to be one of authoritie, because the rest made an inclining respect unto him. The ship was at their comming a league off, and Captaine Gosnoll aboord and so likewise Captaine Gilbert, who almost never went ashoare, the company with me only eight persons. These Indians in hastie manner came towards us, so as we thought fit to make a stand at an angle betweene the Sea and a fresh water, I mooved my selfe towards him seven or eight steps, and clapt my hands first on the sides of mine head, then on my breast, and after presented my Musket with a threatning countenance, thereby to signifie unto them, either a choice of Peace or Warre, whereupon hee using mee with mine owne signes of Peace, I stept forth and imbraced him, his company then all sate downe in manner like Grey-hounds upon their heeles, with whom my company fell a bartering. By this time Captaine

[IV. viii. 1650.]

Gosnoll was come with twelve men more from aboord, and to shew the Savage Seignior that he was our Captaine, we received him in a guard, which he passing thorow, saluted the Seignior with ceremonies of our salutations, whereat he nothing mooved or altered himselfe. Our Captaine gave him a straw Hat and a paire of Knives, the Hat awhiles hee wore, but the Knives he beheld with great marvelling, being very bright and sharpe, this our courtesie made them all in love with us.

The sixt being raine, we spent idlely aboord. The seventh, the Seignior came againe with all his troupe as before, and continued with us the most part of the day, we going to dinner about noone, they sate with us and did eate of our Bacaleure and Mustard, dranke of our Beere, but the Mustard nipping them in their noses they could not indure: it was a sport to behold their faces made being bitten therewith. In time of Dinner the Savages had stolne a Target wherewith acquainting the Seignior, with feare and great trembling they restored it againe, thinking perhaps we would have beene revenged for it, but seeing our familiaritie to continue, they fell a fresh to roasting of Crabs, Red Herrings, which were exceeding great, ground Nuts, &c. as before. Our Dinner ended, the Seignior first tooke leave and departed, next all the rest saving foure that stayed and went into the Wood to helpe us digge Sassafrage, whom we desired to goe aboord us, which they refused and so departed.

The eighth wee divided the victuals, viz. the ships store for England, and that of the Planters, which by Captaine Gilberts allowance could be but sixe weekes for sixe moneths, whereby there fell out a controversie, the rather, for that some seemed secretly to understand of a purpose Captaine Gilbert had not to returne with supplie of the issue, those goods should make by him to be carried home. Besides, there wanted not ambitious conceits in the mindes of some wrangling and ill disposed persons that overthrew the stay there at that time, which upon consultation thereof had, about five dayes after was fully

Their purpose of stay broken off

resolved all for England againe. There came in this interim aboord unto us, that stayed all night, an Indian, whom wee used kindly, and the next day sent ashoare hee shewed himselfe the most sober of all the rest, wee held him sent as a Spie. In the morning he filched away our Pot-hookes, thinking he had not done any ill therein; being ashoare wee bid him strike fire, which with an Emerald stone (such as the Glasiers use, to cut Glasse) he did. I take it to be the very same that in Latine is called Smiris, for striking therewith upon Touch-wood that of purpose hee had, by meane of a mynerall stone used therein, sparkles proceeded and forth with kindled with making of flame. The ninth, wee continued working on our Store-house for as yet remayned in us a desired resolution of making stay. The tenth, Captaine Gosnoll fell downe with the ship to the little Ilet of Cedars, called Hills happe, to take in Cedar wood, leaving mee and nine more in the Fort, onely with three meales meate, upon promise to returne the next day.

The eleventh, he came not, neither sent, whereupon I commanded foure of my companie to seeke out for Crabbes, Lobsters, Turtles, &c. for sustayning us till the ships returne, which was gone cleane out of sight, and had the winde chopt up at South-west, with much difficulty would shee have beene able in short time to have made returne. These foure Purveyers, whom I counselled to keepe together for their better safety divided themselves, two going one wayes and two another, in search as afore-

Savage assault. said. One of these petie companies was assaulted by foure Indians, who with Arrowes did shoot and hurt one of the two in his side, the other a lusty and nimble fellow, leapt in and cut their Bow-strings whereupon they fled. Being late in the evening, they were driven to lie all night in the Woods, not knowing the way home thorow the thicke rubbish, as also the weather somewhat stormie. The want of these sorrowed us much, as not able to conjecture any thing of them unlesse very evill.

The twelfth, those two came unto us againe, whereat

our joy was encreased, yet the want of our Captaine, that promised to returne, as aforesaid, strooke us in a dumpish terrour, for that hee performed not the same in the space of almost three dayes. In the meane wee sustayned our selves with Alexander and Sorrell pottage, Ground-nuts and Tobacco, which gave nature a reasonable content. Wee heard at last, our Captaine to lewre unto us, which made such musike as sweeter never came unto poore men.

The thirteenth, beganne some of our companie that before vowed to stay, to make revolt: whereupon the planters diminishing, all was given over. The fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth wee spent in getting Sasafrage and fire-wood of Cedar, leaving House and little Fort by ten men in nineteene dayes sufficient made to harbour twenty persons at least with their necessary provision.

The seventeenth, we set sayle, doubling the Rockes of Elizabeths Iland, and passing by Dover Cliffe, came to anchor at Marthaes Vineyard being five leagues distant from our Fort, where we went ashoare, and had young Cranes, Herneshowes, and Geese, which now were growne to pretie bignesse. [IV. viii. 1651.]

The eighteenth, we set sayle and bore for England, cutting off our Shalop, that was well able to land five and twenty men, or more, a Boate very necessary for the like occasions. The winds doe raigne most commonly upon this coast in the Summer time, Westerly. In our homeward course wee observed the foresaid fleeting weeds to continue till we came within two hundred leagues of Europe. *Returne.*

The three and twentieth of July we came to anchor before Exmouth.

Chap. XI.

Notes of the same Voyage taken out of a Tractate written by James Rosier to Sir Walter Raleigh, and of Maces Voyage to Virginia.

Oakes, Cedars, Beech, Elme, Hollie, Wal-nut trees, Cherrie trees.

ELizabeths Iland is full of high timbred Oakes, their leaves thrice so broad as ours; Cedars, straight and tall; Beech, Elme, Hollie, Wal-nut trees in abundance, the fruit as bigge as ours, as appeared by those wee found under the trees, which had lien all the yeere ungathered; Hasle-nut trees, Cherrie trees, the leafe, barke and bignesse not differing from ours in England, but the stalke beareth the blossomes or fruit at the end thereof, like a cluster of Grapes, fortie or fiftie in a bunch; Sassafras trees great plentie all the Iland over, a tree of high price and profit; also divers other fruit-trees, some of them with strange barkes, of an Orange colour, in feeling soft and smooth like Velvet: in the thickest parts of these Woods, you may see a furlong or more round about.

Sassafras trees.

Divers other trees.

On the North-west side of this Iland, neere to the Sea-side, is a standing Lake of fresh water, almost three English miles in compasse, in the midst whereof stands a woody ground, an acre in quantitie, or not above: this Lake is full of small Tortoises, and exceedingly frequented with all sorts of fowles before rehearsed, which breed, some lowe on the bankes, and others on lowe trees about this Lake in great abundance, whose young ones of all sorts wee tooke and eate at our pleasure: but all these fowles are much bigger than ours in England. Also, in every Iland, and almost every part of every Iland, are great store of Ground-nuts fortie together on a string, some of them as bigge as Hennes egges; they growe not two inches under ground: the which Nuts wee found to bee as good as Potatoes. Also, divers sorts of shell-fish, as Scalops, Mussels, Cockles, Lobsters, Crabs, Oisters, and Wilkes, exceeding good and very great. But not

A Lake three miles about.

Smal Tortoises.

Abundance of fowles, much bigger than ours in England.

Ground-nuts.

Shell fish.

to cloy you with particular rehearsall of such things as God and Nature hath bestowed on these places, in comparison whereof, the most fertile part of all England is (of it selfe) but barren; wee went in our Light-horsman from this Iland to the Maine, right against this Iland some two miles off, where comming ashoare, wee stood a while like men ravished at the beautie and delicacy of this sweet soyle; for besides divers cleere Lakes of fresh water (whereof wee saw no end) Medowes very large, and full of greene grasse; even the most wooddy places (I speake onely of such as I saw) doe growe so distinct and apart, one tree from another, upon greene grassie ground, somewhat higher than the Plaines, as if Nature would shew her selfe above her power, artificiall. Hard by, wee espied seven Indians, and comming up to them, at first they expressed some feare; but being emboldned by our courteous usage, and some trifles which we gave them, they followed us to a necke of Land, which wee imagined had beene severed from the Mayne; but finding it otherwise, wee perceived a broad Harbour or Rivers mouth, which came up into the Mayne: and because the day was farre spent, we were forced to returne to the Iland from whence we came, leaving the Discovery of this Harbour, for a time of better leisure. Of the goodnesse of which Harbour, as also of many others thereabouts, there is small doubt, considering that all the Ilands, as also the Maine (where wee were) is all Rockie Grounds and broken Lands.

The exceeding beauty of the maine Land.
Great Lakes.
Large Medows.
Seven Indians.
A broad River.
A good Harbour.

Now the next day, wee determined to fortifie our selves in a little plot of ground in the middest of the Lake above mentioned, where wee built an house, and covered it with sedge, which grew about this Lake in great abundance; in building whereof, wee spent three weekes and more: but the second day after our comming from the Maine, wee espied eleven Canoas or Boats, with fifty Indians in them, comming toward us from this part of the Maine, where wee two dayes before landed; and being loath they should discover our fortification, wee went out

The English House.
11. Canoas with 50. Indians in them.

into the Sea side to meete them; and comming somewhat neere them, they all sate downe upon the stones, calling aloud to us (as wee rightly ghessed) to doe the like, a little distance from them: having sate a while in this order, Captaine Gosnold willed mee to goe unto them, to see what countenance they would make; but as soone as I came up unto them, one of them, to whom I had given a Knife two dayes before in the Maine, knew mee (whom I also very well remembred) and smiling upon me, spake somewhat unto their Lord or Captaine, which sate in the midst of them, who presently rose up and tooke a large Bever skinne from one that stood about him, and gave it unto me, which I requited for that time the best I could: but I, pointing towards captaine Gosnold, made signes unto him, that hee was our Captaine, and desirous to bee his friend, and enter league with him, which (as I perceived) he understood, and made signes of joy: whereupon Captaine Gosnold, with the rest of his companie, being twenty in all, came up unto them; and after many signes of gratulations (Captaine Gosnold presenting their Lord with certaine trifles which they wondred at, and highly esteemed) wee became very great friends, and sent for meat aboord our Shalop, and gave them such meates as wee had then ready dressed, whereof they misliked nothing but our Mustard, whereat they made many a sowre face. While wee were thus merrie, one of them had conveighed a Target of ours into one of their Canoas, which wee suffered, onely to trie whether they were in subjection to this Lord, to whom we made signes (by shewing him another of the same likenesse, and pointing to the Canoa) what one of his companie had done: who suddenly expressed some feare, and speaking angerly to one about him (as wee perceived by his countenance) caused it presently to be brought backe againe. So the rest of the day wee spent in trading with them for Furres, which are Beavers, Luzernes, Marterns, Otters, Wilde-cat skinnes, very large and deepe Furre, blacke Foxes, Conie skinnes, of the colour of our Hares, but somewhat lesse,

Their Captain.

[IV. viii. 1652.]

Several sorts of Furres.

Deere skinnes very large, Seale skinnes, and other beasts skinnes, to us unknowne.

They have also great store of Copper, some very red, and some of a paler colour; none of them but have Chaines, Eare-rings, or Collars of this metall: they head some of their Arrowes herewith much like our broad Arrow heads, very workmanly made. Their Chaines are many hollow pieces semented together, each piece of the bignesse of one of our reeds, a finger in length, ten or twelve of them together on a string, which they weare about their neckes: their Collars they weare about their bodies like Bandelieres a handfull broad, all hollow pieces, like the other, but somewhat shorter, foure hundred pieces in a Collar, very fine and evenly set together. Besides these, they have large drinking Cups made like Sculls, and other thinne plates of Copper, made much like our Boare-speare blades, all which they so little esteeme, as they offered their fairest Collars and Chaines for a Knife, or such like trifle, but wee seemed little to regard it; yet I was desirous to understand where they had such store of this mettall, and made signes to one of them (with whom I was very familiar) who taking a piece of copper in his hand, made a hole with his finger in the ground, and withall pointed to the Maine from whence they came. They strike fire in this manner; every one carrieth about him in a Purse of tewd Leather, a Minerall stone (which I take to be their Copper) and with a flat Emerie stone (wherewith Glasiers cut glasse, and Cutlers glase blades) tied fast to the end of a little sticke, gently hee striketh upon the Minerall stone, and within a stroke or two, a sparke falleth upon a piece of Touch-wood (much like our Spunge in England) and with the least sparke he maketh a fire presently. Wee had also of their Flaxe, wherewith they make many strings and cords, but it is not so bright of colour as ours in England: I am perswaded they have store growing upon the Maine, as also Mines, and many other rich commodities, which we, wanting both time and meanes could not possibly discover.

Red Copper in abundance.

Chaines.

Collars.

Drinking cups of Copper.

Mines of Copper.

Mineral stones.

Emerie stones.

Flaxe.

Thus they continued with us three dayes, every night retiring themselves to the furthermost part of our Iland two or three miles from our Fort: but the fourth day they returned to the Maine, pointing five or sixe times to the Sunne, and once to the Maine, which we understood, that within five or sixe dayes they would come from the Maine to us againe: but being in their Canoas a little from the shoare, they made huge cries and shouts of joy unto us, and wee with our Trumpet and Cornet, and casting up our caps into the aire, made them the best farewell wee could: yet sixe or seven of them remayned with us behinde, bearing us companie every day in the Woods, and helped us to cut and carrie our Sassafras, and some of them lay aboord our ship.

Indians apt for service. Sassafras.

A goodly people, and of good conditions.

These people as they are exceeding curteous, gentle of disposition, and well conditioned, excelling all others that we have seene; so for shape of body and lovely favour, I thinke they excell all the people of America; of stature much higher than wee; of complexion or colour, much like a darke Olive; their eye-browes and haire blacke, which they weare long, tyed up behinde in knots, whereon they pricke feathers of fowles, in fashion of a Crownet: some of them are blacke thinne bearded; they make beards of the haire of beasts: and one of them offered a beard of their making to one of our Saylers, for his that grew on his face, which because it was of a red colour, they judged to be none of his owne. They are quicke eyed, and stedfast in their lookes, fearelesse of others harmes, as intending none themselves; some of the meaner sort given to filching, which the very name of Savages (not weighing their ignorance in good or evill) may easily excuse: their garments are of Deere skinnes, and some of them weare Furres round and close about their neckes. They pronounce our Language with great facilitie; for one of them one day sitting by mee, upon occasion I spake smiling to him these words: How now, sirrha, are you so sawcy with my Tobacco? which words (without any further repetition) he suddenly spake so

Their apparell.

plaine and distinctly, as if hee had beene a long Scholer in the Language. Many other such trials wee had, which are here needlesse to repeat. Their women (such as wee saw) which were but three in all, were but lowe of stature, their eye-browes, haire, apparell, and manner of wearing, like to the men, fat, and very well-favoured, and much delighted in our companie; the men are very dutifull towards them. And truly, the wholsomnesse and temperature of this Climate, doth not onely argue this people to be answerable to this description, but also of a perfect constitution of body, active strong, healthfull, and very witty, as the sundry toyes of theirs cunningly wrought, may easily witnesse. *Their women.*

For the agreeing of this Climate with us (I speake of my selfe, and so I may justly doe for the rest of our companie) that we found our health and strength all the while we remayned there, so to renew and encrease, as notwithstanding our diet and lodging was none of the best, yet not one of our companie (God be thanked) felt the least grudging or inclination to any disease or sicknesse, but were much fatter, and in better health than when we went out of England: but after our Barke had taken in so much Sassafras, Cedar, Furres, Skinnes, and other commodities, as were thought convenient; some of our companie that had promised Captaine Gosnold to stay, having nothing but a saving voyage in their mindes, made our companie of Inhabitants (which was small enough before) much smaller; so as Captaine Gosnold seeing his whole strength to consist but of twelve men, and they but meanly provided, determined to returne for England, leaving this Iland (which he called Elizabeths Iland) with as many true sorrowfull eyes, as were before desirous to see it. So the eighteenth of June, being Friday, we weighed, and with indifferent faire winde and weather came to anchor the three and twentieth of July, being also Friday (in all, bare five weekes) before Exmouth. *The goodnesse of the Climat.* [IV. viii. 1653.] *Their returne.*

Your Lordships to command.

JOHN BRERETON.

A briefe Note of such commodities as we saw in the Countrie, notwithstanding our small time of stay.

TRees. Sassafras trees, the roots whereof at three shillings the pound are three hundred thirty sixe pound the tunne. Cedars tall and straight, in great abundance; Cypres trees, Oakes, Wal-nut trees great store, Elmes, Beech, Hollie, Hasle-nut trees, Cherrie trees, Cotton trees, and other fruit-trees to us unknowne. The finder of our Sassafras in these parts, was one Master Robert Meriton.

Fowles. Eagles, Hernshawes, Cranes, Bitters, Mallards, Teales, Geese, Pengwins, Ospreis and Hawkes, Crowes, Ravens, Mewes, Doves, Sea-pies, Black-birds with carnation wings.

Beasts. Deere in great store, very great and large; Beares, Luzernes, blacke Foxes, Beavers, Otters, Wildecats very large and great, Dogs like Foxes, blacke and sharpe nosed; Conies.

Fruits, Plants, and Herbes. Tabacco, excellent sweet and strong; Vines more plenty than in France, Groundnuts, good meate and also medicinable; Strawberries, Rasp-berries, Gooseberries, Hurtleberries, Pease growing naturally, Flaxe, Iris-Florentina, whereof Apothecaries make sweet balls; Sorrell, and many other herbes wherewith they made Sallets.

Fishes. Whales, Tortoises, both on Land and Sea; Seales, Cods, Mackerell, Breames, Herrings, Thornbacke, Hakes, Rock-fish, Dog-fish, Lobsters, Crabbes, Mussels, Wilkes, Cockles, Scallops, Oysters.

Snakes foure foot in length, and sixe inches about, which the Indians eate for dainty meate, the skinnes whereof they use for girdles.

Colours to die with, red, white, and blacke.

Mettals, and Stones. Copper in great abundance, Emerie stones, for Glasiers and Cutlers, Alabaster very white, Stones glittering and shining like Minerall stones;

Stones of a blue mettalline colour, which we take to bee Steele oare; Stones of all sorts for buildings; Clay, red and white, which may prove good Terra Sigillata.

A briefe Note of the sending another Barque this present yeere 1602. by Sir Walter Raleigh, for the searching out of his Colonie in Virginia.

SAmuel Mace of Weimouth, a very sufficient Mariner, an honest sober man, who had beene at Virginia twice before, was employed thither by Sir Walter Raleigh, to finde those people which were left there in the yeere 1587. To whose succour he hath sent five severall times at his owne charges. The parties by him set forth, performed nothing; some of them following their owne profit elsewhere; others returning with frivolous allegations. At this last time, to avoide all excuse, hee bought a Barke, and hired all the companie for wages by the moneth: who departing from Weimouth in March last, 1602. fell fortie leagues to the South-westward of Hataraske, in 34. degrees or therabout; and having there spent a moneth; when they came along the coast to seeke the people, they did it not, pretending that the extremitie of weather, and losse of some principall ground-tackle, forced and feared them from searching the Port of Hataraske, to which they were sent. From that place where they abode, they brought Sassafras, Radix Chinæ, or the China Root, Benjamin, Cassia lignea and a rind of a tree more strong than any Spice as yet unknowne, with divers other commodities, which hereafter in a larger discourse may come to light.

Chap. XII.

A Voyage set out from the Citie of Bristoll at the charge of the chiefest Merchants and Inhabitants of the said Citie with a small Ship and a Barke for the discoverie of the North part of Virginia, in the yeere 1603. under the command of me Martin Pringe.

Pon many probable and reasonable inducements, used unto sundry of the chiefest Merchants of Bristoll, by Master Richard Hakluyt Prebendary of Saint Augustines the Cathedrall Church of the said Citie, after divers meetings and due consultation they resolved to set forth a Voyage for the farther Discoverie of the North part of Virginia. And first they sent the said Master Hakluyt accompanied with one Master John Angell, and Master Robert Saltern (which had beene in the said Discoverie the yeere before with Captaine Bartholomew Gosnold) to obtaine permission of Sir Walter Raleigh (which had a most ample Patent of all those parts from Queene Elizabeth) to entermeddle and deale in that action. Leave being obtained of him under his hand and Seale, they speedily prepared a small ship called the Speed-well in burthen about fiftie tunnes, manning the same with some thirtie men and Boyes, wherein went for Master and chiefe Commander in the Voyage one Martin Pring, a man very sufficient for his place, and Edmund Jones his Mate, and Robert Salterne above mentioned, as their chiefe Agent, with a Barke called the Discoverer, of six and twentie tunnes or thereabout, wherein went for Master William Browne, and Samuell Kirkland his Mate, both good and skilfull Mariners, being thirteene men and a Boy in all in that Barke. The aforesaid ship and Barke were plentifully victualled for eight monethes, and furnished with slight Merchandizes thought fit to trade with the people of the

M. Salterne yet liveth neither is his zeale dead to this action. He is now a Minister and hath both by word and writing to mee testified his affection to Virginia.

M. Pring whose Voyage to the East Indies are in the former Tome.

Countrey, as Hats of divers colours, greene, blue and yellow, apparell of coarse Kersie and Canvasse readie made, Stockings and Shooes, Sawes, Pick-axes, Spades and Shovels, Axes, Hatchets, Hookes, Knives, Sizzers, Hammers, Nailes, Chissels, Fish-hookes, Bels, Beades, Bugles, Looking-glasses, Thimbles, Pinnes, Needles, Threed, and such like. They set saile from Kingrode the twentieth day of March.

We set saile from Milford Haven (where the winds had stayed us a fortnight, in which space we heard of Queene Elizabeths death) the tenth of Aprill 1603. In our course we passed by the Iles of the Açores, had first sight of the Pike, and afterward of the Iland of Cnerno and Flores, and after we had runne some five hundred leagues, we fell with a multitude of small Ilands on the North Coast of Virginia, in the latitude of 43. degrees, the of June, which Ilands wee found very pleasant to behold, adorned with goodly grasse and sundry sorts of Trees, as Cedars, Spruce, Pines, and Firre-trees. Heere wee found an excellent fishing for Cods, which are better then those of New-found-land, and withall we saw good and Rockie ground fit to drie them upon: also we see no reason to the contrary, but that Salt may bee made in these parts, a matter of no small importance. We sayled to the South-west end of these Ilands, and there rode with our ships under one of the greatest. One of them we named Foxe Iland, because we found those kind of beasts thereon. So passing through the rest with our Boates to the mayne Land, which lieth for a good space North-east and South-west, we found very safe riding among them, in sixe, seven, eight, ten and twelve fathomes. At length comming to the Mayne in the latitude of 43. degrees and an halfe, we ranged the same to the South-west. In which course we found foure Inlets, the most Easterly whereof was barred at the mouth, but having passed over the barre, wee ranne up into it five miles, and for a certaine space found very good depth, and comming out againe, as we sailed South-westward, wee lighted upon two other Inlets,

April 10. 1603.

They discover many Ilands.

Good fishing place.

Foxe Iland.

which upon our search we found to pierce not farre into the Land, the fourth and most Westerly was the best, which we rowed up ten or twelve miles.

In all these places we found no people, but signes of fires where they had beene. Howbeit we beheld very goodly Groves and Woods replenished with tall Okes, Beeches, Pine-trees, Firre-trees, Hasels, Wich-hasels and Maples. We saw here also sundry sorts of Beasts, as Stags, Deere, Beares, Wolves, Foxes, Lusernes, and Dogges with sharpe noses. But meeting with no Sassafras, we left these places with all the foresaid Ilands, shaping *Savage Rocke.* our course for Savage Rocke, discovered the yeere before by Captaine Gosnold, where going upon the Mayne we *People.* found people, with whom we had no long conversation, because here also we could find no Sassafras. Departing *Great Gulfe.* hence we bare into that great Gulfe which Captaine Gosnold over-shot the yeere before, coasting and finding people on the North side thereof. Not yet satisfied in our expectation, we left them and sailed over, and came to an Anchor on the South side in the latitude of 41. degrees and odde minutes: where we went on Land in a certaine *Whitson Bay.* Bay, which we called Whitson Bay, by the name of the Worshipfull Master John Whitson then Maior of the Citie of Bristoll, and one of the chiefe Adventurers, and *M. Aldworth.* finding a pleasant Hill thereunto adjoyning, wee called it [IV. viii. 1655.] Mount Aldworth, for Master Robert Aldworths sake a chiefe furtherer of the Voyage, aswell with his Purse as with his travell. Here we had sufficient quantitie of Sassafras.

At our going on shore, upon view of the people and sight of the place, wee thought it convenient to make a small baricado to keepe diligent watch and ward in, for the advertizement and succour of our men, while they should worke in the Woods. During our abode on shore, *The people visit them.* the people of the Countrey came to our men sometimes ten, twentie, fortie or threescore, and at one time one hundred and twentie at once. We used them kindly, and gave them divers sorts of our meanest Merchandize.

They did eat Pease and Beanes with our men. Their owne victuals were most of fish.

We had a youth in our company that could play upon a Gitterne, in whose homely Musicke they tooke great delight, and would give him many things, as Tobacco, Tobacco-pipes, Snakes skinnes of sixe foot long, which they use for Girdles, Fawnes skinnes, and such like, and danced twentie in a Ring, and the Gitterne in the middest of them, using many Savage gestures, singing Jo, Ja, Jo, Ja, Ja, Jo: him that first brake the ring, the rest would knocke and cry out upon. Some few of them had plates of Brasse a foot long, and halfe a foote broad before their breasts. Their weapons are Bowes of five or sixe foot long of Wich-hasell, painted blacke and yellow, the strings of three twists of sinewes, bigger then our Bow-strings. Their Arrowes are of a yard and an handfull long not made of Reeds, but of a fine light wood very smooth and round with three long and deepe blacke feathers of some Eagle, Vulture, or Kite, as closely fastened with some binding matter, as any Fletcher of ours can glue them on. Their Quivers are full a yard long, made of long dried Rushes wrought about two handfuls broad above, and one handfull beneath with prettie workes and compartiments, Diamant wise of red and other colours.

The Savages take great delight in musick.

Dances.

Weapons.

We carried with us from Bristoll two excellent Mastives, of whom the Indians were more afraid, then of twentie of our men. One of these Mastives would carrie a halfe Pike in his mouth. And one Master Thomas Bridges a Gentleman of our company accompanied only with one of these Dogs, and passed sixe miles alone in the Countrey having lost his fellowes, and returned safely. And when we would be rid of the Savages company wee would let loose the Mastives, and suddenly with out-cryes they would flee away. These people in colour are inclined to a swart, tawnie, or Chestnut colour, not by nature but accidentally, and doe weare their haire brayded in foure parts, and trussed up about their heads with a small knot behind: in which haire of theirs they sticke many feathers

The great use of Mastives.

Ornaments.

and toyes for braverie and pleasure. They cover their privities only with a piece of leather drawne betwixt their twists and fastened to their Girdles behind and before: whereunto they hang their bags of Tobacco. They seeme to bee somewhat jealous of their women, for we saw not past two of them, who weare Aprons of Leather skins before them downe to the knees, and a Beares skinne like an Irish Mantle over one shoulder. The men are of stature somewhat taller then our ordinary people, strong, swift, well proportioned, and given to treacherie, as in the end we perceived.

The fashion of their Boats.

Their Boats, whereof we brought one to Bristoll, were in proportion like a Wherrie of the River of Thames, seventeene foot long and foure foot broad, made of the Barke of a Birch-tree, farre exceeding in bignesse those of England: it was sowed together with strong and tough Oziers or twigs, and the seames covered over with Rozen or Turpentine little inferiour in sweetnesse to Frankincense, as we made triall by burning a little thereof on the coales at sundry times after our comming home: it was also open like a Wherrie, and sharpe at both ends, saving that the beake was a little bending roundly upward. And though it carried nine men standing upright, yet it weighed not at the most above sixtie pounds in weight, a thing almost incredible in regard of the largenesse and capacitie thereof. Their Oares were flat at the end like an Oven peele, made of Ash or Maple very light and strong, about two yards long, wherewith they row very swiftly: Passing up a River we saw certaine Cottages together, abandoned by the Savages, and not farre off we beheld their Gardens and one among the rest of an Acre of ground, and in the same was sowne Tobacco, Pompions, Cowcumbers and such like; and some of the people had Maiz or Indian Wheate among them. In the fields we found wild Pease, Strawberries very faire and bigge, Goose-berries, Raspices, Hurts, and other wild fruits.

Excellent sweet Rozen and Turpentine.

Their Gardens Corne and plants.

Having spent three Weekes upon the Coast before we came to this place where we meant to stay & take in our

lading, according to our instructions given us in charge before our setting forth, we pared and digged up the Earth with shovels, and sowed Wheate, Barley, Oates, Pease, and sundry sorts of Garden Seeds, which for the time of our abode there, being about seven Weeks, although they were late sowne, came up very well, giving certaine testimonie of the goodnesse of the Climate and of the Soyle. And it seemeth that Oate, Hempe, Flaxe, Rape-seed and such like which require a rich and fat ground, would prosper excellently in these parts. For in divers places here we found grasse above knee deepe.

As for Trees the Country yeeldeth Sassafras a plant of sovereigne vertue for the French Poxe, and as some of late have learnedly written good against the Plague and many other Maladies; Vines, Cedars, Okes, Ashes, Beeches, Birch trees, Cherie trees bearing fruit whereof wee did eate, Hasels, Wich-hasels, the best wood of all other to make Sope-ashes withall, Walnut-trees, Maples, [IV. viii. Holy to make Bird-lime with, and a kinde of tree bearing 1656.] a fruit like a small red Peare-plum with a crowne or knop on the top (a plant whereof carefully wrapped up in earth, Master Robert Salterne brought to Bristoll.) We found also low trees bearing faire Cheries. There were likewise a white kind of Plums which were not growne to their perfect ripenesse. With divers other sorts of trees to us unknowne.

The Beasts here are Stags, fallow Deere in abundance, Beares, Wolves, Foxes, Lusernes, and (some say) Tygres, Porcupines, and Dogges with sharpe and long noses, with many other sorts of wild beasts, whose Cases and Furres being hereafter purchased by exchange may yeeld no smal gaine to us. Since as we are certainly informed, the Frenchmen brought from Canada the value of thirtie thousand Crownes in the yeere 1604. almost in Bevers and Otters skinnes only. The most usuall Fowles are Eagles, Vultures, Hawkes, Cranes, Herons, Crowes, Gulls, and great store of other River and Sea-fowles. And as the Land is full of Gods good blessings, so is the Sea

replenished with great abundance of excellent fish, as Cods sufficient to lade many ships, which we found upon the Coast in the moneth of June, Seales to make Oile withall, Mullets, Turbuts, Mackerels, Herrings, Crabs, Lobsters, Crevises, and Muscles with ragged Pearles in them.

By the end of July we had laded our small Barke called the Discoverer, with as much Sassafras as we thought sufficient, and sent her home into England before, to give some speedie contentment to the Adventurers: who arrived safely in Kingrode above a fortnight before us. After their departure we so bestirred our selves, that our shippe also had gotten in her lading, during which time there fell out this accident. On a day about noone tide while our men which used to cut downe Sassafras in the Woods were asleepe, as they used to doe for two houres in the heat of the day, there came downe about seven score Savages armed with their Bowes and Arrowes, and environed our House or Barricado, wherein were foure of our men alone with their Muskets to keepe Centinell, whom they sought to have come downe unto them, which they utterly refused, and stood upon their guard. Our Master likewise being very carefull and circumspect having not past two with him in the shippe put the same in the best defence he could, lest they should have invaded the same, and caused a piece of great Ordnance to bee shot off, to give terrour to the Indians, and warning to our men which were fast asleepe in the Woods: at the noyse of which Peece they were a little awaked, and beganne a little to call for Foole and Gallant, their great and fearefull Mastives, and full quietly laid themselves downe againe, but beeing quickned up eftsoones againe with a second shot they rowsed up themselves, betooke them to their weapons and with their Mastives, great Foole with an halfe Pike in his mouth drew downe to their ship: whom when the Indians beheld afarre off, with the Mastive which they most feared, in dissembling manner they turned all to a jest and sport, and departed away in friendly manner: yet not long after, even the day before

Barke sent home.

Danger of the Savages.

our departure, they set fire on the Woods where wee wrought, which wee did behold to burne for a mile space, and the very same day that wee weighed Anchor, they came downe to the shoare in greater number, to wit, very neere two hundred by our estimation, and some of them came in their Boates to our ship, and would have had us come in againe: but we sent them backe, and would none of their entertainment.

About the eighth or ninth of August, wee left this excellent Haven at the entrance whereof we found twentie fathomes water, and rode at our ease in seven fathomes being Land-locked, the Haven winding in compasse like the shell of a Snaile, and it is in latitude of one and forty degrees and five and twentie minutes.

This by the way is not to be forgotten, that our Captaine fell so much to the Northward because he would find high grounds, where commonly the best Havens are: which also fell out to his expectation. We also observed that we could find no Sassafras but in sandie ground. In our returne we brought our selves into the latitude of eight and thirtie degrees about the Açores for certaine causes, and within five weekes space came from our Port of Virginia, into the Soundings of England, but there being long encountred with Easterly winds, we came at length into Kingrode, the second of October 1603. The Discoverer was out five moneths and an halfe. The Speedwell was out sixe moneths upon the Voyage.

A Relation of the Voyage made to Virginia, in the Elizabeth of London, a Barke of fiftie tunnes by Captaine Bartholomew Gilbert, in the yeere 1603. Written by Master Thomas Canner a Gentleman of Bernards Inne his companion in the same Voyage.

UPon Wednesday in Easter weeke, the seventeenth of Aprill, after I had taken my leave of some few of my loving and deere friends in Bernards Inne, I rode

toward Southampton, there to bespeake Bisket and some other provision for our Barke, wherein Master Bartholomew Gilbert went as Captaine, which had beene in Virginia the yeere before with Captaine Bartholomew Gosnold. After our businesse was dispatched here, wee came into Plimmouth, from whence wee put forth the tenth of May. And the six and twentieth of the same, we were in the latitude of 32. degrees, hoping to have had sight of the Ile of Madera, whereof we missed, in which course we met with two or three English men of warre.

[IV. viii. 1657.]

The first of June, we were in the latitude of 27. degrees, and haled over toward the Ilands of the West Indies, and the fifteenth of this moneth toward night wee saw Land. Master Gilbert and the Master Henrie Suite dwelling within the Iron Gate of the Towre of London, tooke it to be the Bermudas: being very neere the shore they sounded many times and had no ground, at the last they found good ground in fourteene or fifteene fathomes. There wee cast Anchor. In the morning we weighed, and sounded still as we trended by the shoare: but after wee were past a Cables length from our Road, we had no Land againe in forty or fifty fathomes: we kept still by the shore not yet being certaine what Iland it was. The sixteenth in the morning, wee spied the people comming from the shore, who when they came neere, cried out for barter or trade: when they came close aboord, they made signes and cried out to see our colours, which we presently put forth in the maine top, and told them we were Ingleses, Amigos, and Hermanos, that is, Englishmen, their friends and brothers. Assoone as they understood we were Englishmen, they were bolder to come neere: we threw them a Rope, and one came aboord us: wee traded with them for some Tobacco, Pine-apples, Plantanes, Pompions and such things as they had: wee gave them Bugles, Knives, Whistles, and such toyes. Here we kept close by the shore. When this Canoa had traded with us, and uttered all they had and drunke of our Beere, beeing

kindly used they departed: and then presently after divers Canoas came, we traded and used them as the first. One of them told us that Iland was Santa Lucia. We bestowed all that forenoone shaking in the wind (for we had no ground to Anchor) neere the shore to trade with them. Then wee set our course for Saint Vincent, but finding a current against us and the wind very scant, we doubted we should not fetch it, and that if we did, peradventure we might bee put to the leeward of Dominica, and so consequently of Mevis or Nieves; for which Iland we were specially bound for to cut Lignum vitæ, in the same. Therefore Master Gilbert thought good to let Saint Vincent alone, although in it is the best Tobacco of all the Ilands, yet in the end hee put roomer for Dominica, whereof we had sight the seventeenth of June, and came close to the shore; and presently one Canoa came aboord, as at Santa Lucia, being sent with two men belike to discover us, and to see what entertainment they should have, we used them kindly and so dismissed them. There came more full of men, with divers of their commodities.

They trade at Santa Lucia.

Dominica.

The nineteenth in the morning being Sunday, we anchored in a good Road at Mevis, and after went on shore to seeke Lignum vitæ, Master Gilbert, with the Master and divers of the company sought farre into the Woods, but found none but one little Tree, and here and there where one had bin cut: so we were in doubt to find enough heere to load our ship, a just plague unto us for prophaning the Sabbath in travelling about our worldly businesse, when there was no necessitie. This day in the Evening some went out with the Boate unto the shore, and brought on boord a Tortoyse so big that foure men could not get her into the Boate but tied her fast by one legge unto the Boat, and so towed her to the ship, when they had her by the ship, it was no easie matter to get her on boord.

Mevis.

Great Tortoyse.

The next day we went on shore againe to search another part of the wood for Lignum vitæ: and then God be thanked we found enough. This day at night we opened

Lignum vitæ.

our Tortoyse, which had in her about 500. Egges, excellent sweet meate, and so is all the whole fish. Upon Tuesday in the morning we went all on shore saving the Carpenter and Thomas, and Master Gilberts man to fell wood, and this day we felled good store. All the rest of this moneth and three dayes more we continued here every day labouring sore, first in sawing downe the great trees, and sawing them againe into logs, portable out of the thicke wood to the Sea-shoare, so in the Boates, and so to the ship: where M. Gilbert his paines profited double as well in example as in worke, for hee was never idle, but either searching out more trees, or fetching drinke for the Labourers, or doing one thing or other: so that in this just fortnight that wee stayed here, wee had gotten on boord some twenty tuns. Within a few dayes after the Tortoyse was eaten God sent us another. One of these fishes were sufficient meat for twentie men for three or foure dayes if it could bee preserved, but in that Climate no salting can preserve it above two dayes, hardly so long. Now the wood growing thinne, and hardly to be found on this Iland, he thought it best to stay no longer here, but to goe for Virginia, to search for better store. And so upon Sunday the third of July in the afternoone we weighed Anchor, and sailed North-west and by North, and that night passed by Saint Christopher, and another little Iland Munday the fourth in the morning we had sight of the Iland, we went into the Woods to search for Lignum vitæ, but found none but one tree, which he cut and went on boord, we sought also for fresh water, but found none: At Evening went on shore into the bottome of the Bay to dray the Net; and there we gat good store of fine fresh fish, and much more, enough to have laden our Boat we should have gotten, if at every draught we had not had in the Net a Tortoyse, which stil brak through and so carried away the fish with them. At one draught among the rest we had two in the Net, a yong one and an old one: the Net held the young one.

S. Christopher.

Abundance of Tortoyses.

[IV. viii. 1658.] Wee weighed and went through betweene the two

Ilands into the mayne Ocean, toward our long desired Countrey Virginia, distant three hundred and fiftie leagues from us. Wee sayled North North-west. *They disemboke.*

The seventh, we ran still North-west and North and by West. The eight, wee kept the same course. The ninth, we kept still the same course. The winde beganne to vere some thing to the Southward, which had beene constant still, from the Ilands of the Canaries, unto the Ilands of the West Indies. And now began the winde to draw towards the West, and then is it as constant there. The reason I deferre to longer consideration. The current setteth out of the Gulfe of Mexico, and from the mayne shore. *The Westerne winds begin.*

Sunday the tenth, we kept still the same course, and had now but a small gale almost becalmed. The eleventh, we continued the same course with the same small gale we went North. Tuesday the twelfth we kept the same course, if any at all, for, for the most part we were becalmed.

Wednesday the thirteenth, the calme continued, the Sunne being extremely hot in the calme. Thursday the fourteenth, the calme continued as hot as before. These dayes we ayred our Newland fish called Poore John, which proved ill done. For after it was ayred, it rotted the sooner, being burnt in the same. On Friday the fifteenth, God sent us a reasonable gale. The sixteenth and seventeenth, the calme came againe. Munday, we had a good gale, and went North and by West, and North North-west. The nineteenth, twentieth, and one and twentieth, we had an excellent gale, and ranne North North-west. Then we cast out the Lead and looked out for land, but found no ground nor saw no land, and therefore we much doubted that the current had set us very farre to the leeward of the place which wee were bound for, being the Chesepian Bay; but that could not be knowne till it pleased God to bring us to land. In the afternoone about sixe of the clocke we cast out the Lead againe, and had ground in thirtie fathomes, whereof we were glad and *Poore John.* *Ground in 30. fathomes.*

thanked God, knowing we could not be farre from land.

Saturday the three and twentieth in the morning, about eight of the clocke wee saw land in the height of 40. degrees and odde minutes, very fine low land, appearing farre off to bee full of tall Trees, and a fine sandie shoare, but a great siege: we saw no Harbour, and therefore coasted along to seeke one to the Northward, the wind being at West.

An Headland. Sunday the foure and twentieth, the wind being about the North-east we beat hard to fetch an Head-land, where we thought we saw an Harbour: but when we came up with it, wee perceived it was none, and all our labour lost. And therefore the wind beeing now more full in our teeth at the North-east, wee considered it were better to put roome, so that if the winde should stand, then we should fetch the Bay of Chesepian, which Master Gilbert so much thirsted after, to seeke out the people for Sir Walter Raleigh left neere those parts in the yeere 1587. if not, perhaps we might find some Road or Harbour in the way to take in some fresh water: for now wee had none aboord.

The mouth of the Chesepian Bay. On Munday the five and twentieth of July at night wee came neere the mouth of the Bay: but the wind blew so sore, and the Sea was so high, that the Master durst not put in that night into the Sea: and so continued next day.

On Wednesday the seven and twentieth, at night the winde came faire againe, and wee bare againe for it all night, and the wind presently turned againe. Thursday the eight and twentieth, considering our extremitie for water and wood, victuals and beere likewise consuming very fast, we could no longer beate for it, and therefore ran roomer, determining for this time to seeke it no more.

They departed Eastward from the mouth of the Chesepioc Bay. Friday the nine and twentieth, being not farre from the shoare, which appeared unto us exceeding pleasant and full of goodly Trees, and with some shew of the entrance of a River, our Captaine Bartholomew Gilbert accompanied with Master Thomas Canner a Gentleman of Bernards

A shew of entrance of a River.

Inne, Richard Harison the Masters Mate, Henry Kenton our Chirurgion, and one Derricke a Dutchman, went on shore in the Boate from the ship which lay above a mile from the land, and with their weapons marched up into the Countrey, leaving two youths to keepe the Boate: but shortly after the Indians set upon them, and one or two of them fell downe wounded in sight of our yong men that kept the Boat, which had much a doe to save themselves and it. For some of the Indians roming downe to them, would have haled it on shore, which notwithstanding they saved, and with heavie hearts gat unto the ship with the losse of their Captain and foure of their principall men. Thus being but eleven men and Boyes in all in the ship, though our want of water and wood were great, yet wee durst not adventure the losse of any more of our small company in this place; Therefore our Master Henry Sute tooke his course home for England by the Iles of the Açores, and fell first with the Pike, and afterward entring into our Chanell, had first sight of Portland, and thence came up the River of Thames unto Ratcliffe, about the end of September 1603. finding the Citie most grievously infected with a terrible plague.

Captaine Gilbert and foure more slaine by the Indians.

Chap. XIII.

[IV. viii. 1659.]

Extracts of a Virginian Voyage made An. 1605. by Captaine George Waymouth, in the Archangell. Set forth by the Right Honorable Henry Earle of South-hampton, and the Lord Thomas Arundel, written by James Rosier.

UPon Easter day, the last of March, the winde comming at North North-east: about five of the clocke after noone, we weighed anchor and put to Sea from the Downes, [in the Name of God] being very well victualled, and furnished with Munition and all necessaries; our whole companie being nine and twenty persons, of whom I dare

March. Easter day wee put to Sea.

boldy say, few Voyages have beene manned forth with better Sea-men generally, in respect of our small number.

Munday the thirteenth of May, about eleven of the clocke in the fore-noone, our Captaine judging we were not farre from Land, sounded; and we had soft oze in an hundred and sixty fathome: at foure of the clocke after noone wee sounded againe, and had the like oze in an hundred fathome.

Sounding wee found ground.

From ten a clocke that night till three a clocke in the morning, our Captain tooke in all Sayles and lay at hull, being desirous to fall with the Land in the day time, because it was an unknown Coast, which it pleased God in his mercy to grant us, otherwise surely we had runne our Shippe upon the hidden Rockes, and perished all: for when we set sayle, we sounded in an hundred fathom: and by eight a clocke, having not made above five or sixe leagues, our Captaine upon a sudden change of water supposing verily he saw the sand: presently sounded, and had but five fathome: much marvelling because we saw no Land, he sent one to the top, who descried a whitish sandy Cliffe, which bare West North-west about sixe leagues off: but comming neerer within three or foure leagues, we saw many breaches still neerer the Land. At last we espied a great breach ahead us right along the shoare, into which, before we entred, our Captaine thought best to hoise out his Ship-boat and sound it: which if hee had not done, wee had there ended our Voyage, together with our lives: for he bare up the Ship as neere as he could after the Boate, untill Master Cam his Mate being in the Boat, weffed and called to him to winde about and stand off, for in this breach he had very shoald water, two fathome upon Rockes, and sometime they supposed they saw the Rocke within three or foure foot, whereon the Sea made a very high strong breach, which we might discerne (from the top) to runne along as wee sayled by it, sixe or seven leagues to the Southward: and we saw no end thereof. Wherefore we were constrained to put backe againe from the Land; and sounding (the weather being

May 14. Land descried.

faire) wee found our selves embayed with continuall Shoalds and Rocks, in a most uncertaine ground; as by judgement of our Captaine and whole companie, they had never knowne the like; from five and sixe fathome, at the next cast of the Lead wee should have fifteene and eighteene fathome all hard Rocke over many which (by the unspeakable goodnesse and mercy of God towards us) wee passed. For if we had bare in with it but the day before (which was exceeding tempestuous) or in the night, we could by no meanes have escaped the danger. But God so blessed us, that we had weather and winde as faire as poore men could wish, in this distresse, whereby we both perfectly discerned every breach, and with the winde were able to turne, where wee saw most hope of safest passage. Thus we parted from the Land, which wee had not so much before desired: and at the first sight rejoyced: as now wee all joyfully praised God, that it had pleased him so miraculously to deliver us from so imminent danger of death before our eyes. Our Captaine found himselfe in the latitude of 41. degrees and an halfe. Here we found great store of fish, and saw many Whales, as we had done two or three dayes before.

A dangerous place of rocks and shoalds.

Latitude 41. degrees and an halfe.

Wee stood off that night and all the next day, being Wednesday: but the winde still continuing for many dayes betweene the points of South South-west and West South-west, so as we could not by any possible meanes make any way to the Southward in regard of our great want of water and Wood (which was now spent) wee much desired Land, and therefore sought for it, where the winde would best suffer us to refresh our selves.

Thursday the sixteenth day of May, we stood directly in with the Land: and we much marvelled that we descried it not: wherein wee found our Sea Charts very false laying out Land where none was, for though we bare in directly with it according to them: yet in almost fifty leagues running we found none.

Sea-charts false.

Friday the seventeenth of May, about sixe a clocke at night, wee descried Land, which bare from us North

Land descried.

North-east: but because it blew a great gale of winde, the Sea very high and neere night, not fit to come upon an unknowne coast, our Captaine stood off till two of the clocke in the morning being Saturday and Whitson Eve: then standing with it againe, wee descried it by eight a clocke in the morning, bearing North-east from us. It appeared a meane high Land, as we after found it, being but an Iland of no great compasse: but I hope the most fortunate that ever men discovered, as shall appeare by the sequell. About twelve a clocke that day, wee came to an anchor on the North side of this Iland in forty fathome water, about a league from shoare. This Iland is woody, growne over with Firre, Birch, and Beech, as farre as we saw along the shoare, and so likely to be within. On the Verge growe Gooseberries, Strawberries, wilde Pease, and wilde Rose bushes. The fresh water issued down the rocky Cliffes in many places; and much fowle of sundry kindes breed upon the shoare and Rockes. While wee were at shoare, our men aboord with a few hookes got above thirty great Cod and Haddocke, which gave us a taste of the great plenty of fish which we found afterward, wheresoever we went upon the coast.

Saturday wee made the land.

[IV. viii. 1660.]

Our Captaine named this S. Georges Iland.

Great plenty of fish.

From hence we might discerne many Ilands, and the maine Land, from the West South-west to the East North-east; and North North-east from us a great way as it then seemed (and as we after found it) up into the Maine, we might discerne very high Mountaines, although the Maine seemed but lowe Land, which gave us a hope, that it might please God, to direct us to the Discovery of some good, although wee were driven by windes farre from that place, whether both by our direction and desire, we ever intended to shape the course of our Voyage.

Wee descried the Maine and Mountaines.

The next day being Whitsunday, because we rode too much open to the Sea, and windes, wee wayed anchor about twelve a clocke, and came along to the other Ilands more adjoyning to the Maine, and in the Road directly with the Mountaines, about three leagues from the first

Upon Whitsunday wee came into an excellent Harbour.

Iland where we anchored. When we came neere unto them (sounding all along in a good depth) our Captaine manned his Ship-boat, and sent her before with Thomas Cam one of his Mates, whom he knew to be of good experience, to search and sound about and between the Ilands, for a place safe for our ship to ride in. In the meane while we kept aloofe at Sea, having given order to them in the Boat, by a token to weffe in the ship if he found a convenient Harbour, which it pleased God to send us, farre beyond our expectation in a most safe birth, defended from all windes in an excellent depth of water for ships of any burthens in six, seven, eight, nine and ten fathome upon a clay oze, very tough, where is good moring, even on the Rocks upon the Cliffe side.

We all with great admiration praised God, who had from so apparent danger miraculously delivered us, and directed us upon this day (upon which he sent the chiefe promised Director of all goodnesse unto his Apostles and Disciples) into such a place, wherof here before we reade none to have made either description or relation, and then which neither our selves could wish, or Nature affoord more secure. In remembrance whereof, our Captaine named it Pentecost Harbour.

Pentecost Harbour.

Whitsun Munday the twentieth day of May, by three a clocke in the morning, our Captaine caused the Shalop to be carried ashoare: where while some were busied about her, himselfe set others to worke in digging Wels to receive the water, which we found issuing downe out of the Land in many places, and rising amidst the rocky Cliffes. In digging (amongst other things) we found in some places (and not deepe) clay ground, blue, red and white, to make Bricke or Tile, fit for building. This day our Pinnace was fitted together and lanched; in small time with two or three hookes were fished sufficiently for our whole companie three dayes, with great Cod. Hadocke, and some Thornbacke. Towards night we drew with a small Same of 20. fathom just by the shoare, where we got about 30. very good Lobsters, many Rock-

Clay.

Our Pinnace Lanched.

Varietie of fishes.

fish, some Plaise, and other small fishes very good; and fishes called Lumpes, very pleasant to taste. And this wee generally observed, that all the fish of what kind soever we tooke, were well fed, fat, and in tast very sweet.

Wednesday the two and twentieth of May, our Captaine went ashoare with our men, where wee felled and cut wood for our ships use, cleansed and scoured our Wells. Wee likewise digged a small plot of ground, where in among some Garden seeds (which most the birds destroyed) we set Pease and Barley, which in sixteene dayes grew eight inches, and so continued every day growing more than halfe an inch: although this was but the crust of the ground, and farre inferiour to the mould we after found in the Maine.

All the next day we labored hard to make up our wood, because our Captaine intended not to spare, or spend any more time in that of our Voyage. This day our Boat *Wee fished.* fished againe as before, because wee still were much refreshed with the fresh fish.

Friday the foure and twentieth of May, after we had made an end of cutting wood, and carrying some water aboord our ship. Our Captaine with fourteene shot and Pike marched about, and thorow part of two of the Ilands, one of which we ghessed to be foure or five miles in compasse, and a mile broad.

The fruits of the Ilands. Along the shoare, and some space within where the wood hindereth not, growe plentifully, Rashberries, Gooseberries, Strawberries, Corant trees, Rose bushes, wilde Vines, Angelica a soveraine herbe, many other fruits wee knew not. All within the Ilands, growe wood of sundry sorts, some very great, and generally all tall: *Trees.* Beech, Birch, Ash, Maple, Spruce, Cherrie tree, Ewe, Oake great and firme, with so fine graine and colour, as our Captaine, and men of best experience, had never seene the like. But the Firre trees great and small are *Turpentine plentifull, for Tarre and Pitch.* most abundant, which I name last, as not the least of excellent profit: for from it issueth Turpentine in marvellous plenty, and so sweet as our Chirurgeon and

others affirmed they never saw so good in England. Wee pulled off much Gumme congealed on the outside of the Barke which gave an odour like Frankincense. This would be a very great benefit for making Tarre and Pitch.

We staied the longer in this place, not onely because of our good Harbour (which is an excellent comfort) but also because every day we found the Iland, more and more to discover unto us his pleasant fruitfulnesse, insomuch, as many of our company wished themselves settled here. [IV. viii. 1661.]

Also our men found abundance of great Mussels among the Rockes; and in some of them many small Pearles. *Pearle.* In one Mussell (which we drew up in our Same) was found foureteene Pearles, whereof one was of pretty bignesse and orient, in another above fifty small Pearles; and if one had had a Dragge, no doubt we had found some of great value, seeing these did certainely shew that here they were bred: the shels within all glistering with mother of Pearle.

Thursday the thirtieth of May, the Captaine with thirteene departed in the Shallop, leaving the Ship in a good harbour.

Divers Canoas of Savages came to us. The shape of their body is very proportionable, and well countenanced, not very tall, nor bigge, but in stature like to us; they paint their bodies with blacke, their faces some with red, some with blacke, and some with blew. Their cloathing is Bever skins, and Deere skins, hanging downe to their knees before and behinde, made fast together upon the shoulder with a leather string; some of them weare sleeves, some buskins of leather tewed very thin and soft. Some weare the haire of their skins outward, some inward; they have besides a peece of skin, which they binde about their waste, and betweene their legges to cover their privities. They suffer no haire to grow upon their faces, but upon their head very long and very blacke, which behinde they binde up with a string on a long round knot, some of them have haire all curled naturally. They seemed all very civill and very merry, shewing *Their shape of body.* *Their cloathing.*

Very thankful. tokens of much thankfulnesse for those things we gave them; which they expresse in their language by these words, oh, ho, often repeated. We found them then (as after) a people of very good invention, quicke understanding, and ready capacity.

Of good capacity and understanding.

Their Canoas very artificiall. Their Canoas are made of the barke of Beech, strengthned within with ribbes and hoopes of wood, in so good fashion and with such excellent ingenious art, as our men that had beene often in the Indies, said they farre exceeded any that ever they had seene. The chiefe of them told me by signes, that they would goe fetch Furres and Skins, and pointed to be with us againe by that time the Sunne should come somewhat beyond the midst of the firmament.

About ten a clocke this day we descried our Pinnace returning towards us. Our Captaine had in this small time discovered up a great River, trending all almost into the Maine. Untill his returne our Captaine left on shoare where they landed, in a path (which seemed to be frequented) a Pipe, a Brooch, and a Knife, thereby to know if the Savages had recourse that way, because they could at that time see none of them, onely a Beast a farre of, which they thought to be a Deere.

Trifles left on shoare.

The next day being Saturday, and the first of June, wee traded with the Savages all the forenoone upon the Shoare, where were eight and twenty Savages, and because our Ship rode nigh, we were but five or sixe, where for Knives and other trifles, to the value of foure or five shillings, we had forty good Skins, Bevers, Otter, and other which we knew not what to call them. Our trade being ended, many of them came aboord us, and eate by our fire, and would be very merry and bold, in regard of our kinde usage of them. Our Captaine shewed them a strange thing, which they wondered; His Sword and mine having beene touched with the Loadstone, tooke up their Knife and held it fast when they plucked it away: and made their Knife turne being laid on a blocke: and giving their Knife a touch with his Sword, made that take

Wee traded with the Savages.

They wondred at the effect of the Loadstone.

up a Needle, which they much marveiled at. This we did to cause them to imagine some great power in us, and for that to love and feare us.

When we went a Shoare to trade with them in one of their Canoas, I saw their Bowes and Arrowes, which in their sight I tooke up and drew an Arrow in one of them, which I found to be of a reasonable strength, able to carry an Arrow five or six score strongly; and one of them tooke it and drew as we draw our Bowes, not like the Indians. Their Bowe is made of Beech in fashion of our Bowes, but they want nocks, onely a string of leather put through a hole at one end, and made fast with a knot at the other. Their Arrowes are of a much greater size then our and longer, feathered with three feathers tyed on, and nocked very artificially, headed with a long shanke bone of a Deere, made very sharpe, and some Iron heads, with two fangs in manner of a harping Iron. They have likewise Darts headed with sharpe bone, one of which I darted among the Stones and it brake not. These they use very cunningly to kill Fish, Fowle, and Beasts.

Their Bowes and Arrowes.

Darts.

They gave us the best welcome they could, spreading Deere skins for us to sit on the ground by their fire, and gave us of their Tobacco in our Pipes, which was most excellent, and so generally commended of us all to be as good as any we ever tooke, being the simple Leafe without any composition, very strong and of a pleasant sweete taste: they gave us some to carry to our Captaine, whom they called our Bashabe, neither did they require any thing for it; but we would receive nothing from them without remuneration.

Tobacco excellent the Savages gave us.

Here we saw their women, who stood behinde them, as desirous to see us, but not willing to be seene, for before whensoever we came a Shoare, they retired into the woods; whether it were in regard of their owne naturall modesty being naked, or by the commanding jelousie of their husbands, which we rather suspected; for it hath beene an inclination noted alwayes generally in Savages, wherefore we would by no meanes seeme to take

We saw their Women.

[IV. viii. 1662.]

any speciall notice of them. They were very well favoured, low of stature, and exceeding fat; they had two little children very fat, and of good countenance, which they love tenderly, all naked, except their legges, which were covered with thin leather buskins, fastned with straps to a Girdle about their waste, which they gird very streight, and is decked round about with little round peeces of Copper. To these we gave Chaines, Bracelets, and other trifles, which the Savages seemed to accept with great kindnesse.

At our comming away, we would have had those two that supped with us to goe aboord and sleepe, as they had promised our Captaine; but it appeared their company would not suffer them, whereat we might easily perceive they were much grieved: but not long after our departure they came with three more to our Ship, signing to us, if one of our Company would goe lye a Shoare with them, they would stay with us. Our Captaine would command none: but Griffin, one of them we were to leave in the Countrey, by their agreement with my Lord the Right Honorable Count Arundell (if it should be thought needefull or convenient) went with them in their Canoa; and three of them stayed aboord us. Whom our Captaine and whole Company very kindely used, himselfe saw their lodging provided, and them lodged in an old Saile upon the Orlop, and because they most feared our Dogs, they were tyed up whensoever any of them came aboord us.

We brought them home againe.

Griffin which lay on Shoare, reported unto me their manner, and (as I may tearme them) the Ceremonies of their Idolatry, which they performe thus. One among them (the eldest of the company as he judged) riseth right up, the rest sitting still, and sodainely cryed, Bowh, waugh; then the women fall downe, and lye upon the ground, and the men altogether answering the same, fall a stamping round about with both feete as hard as they can, making the ground shake, with sundry loud outcries, and change of voyce and sound; many take the fire stickes and thrust them into the earth, and then rest silent

Ceremonies of the Savages Idolatry.

a while, of a sudden beginning as before, they looke round about, as though they expected the comming of something (as hee verily supposed) and continue stamping till the yonger sort fetch from the Shoare Stones, of which every man take one, and first beate upon them with the fire sticks, then with the Stones beate the ground with all their strength: and in this sort (as he reported) they continued above two houres. In the time of their Pavose, our watch aboord were singing, and they signed to him to doe so, which he did, looking and lifting up his hands to heaven: then they pointed to the Moone, as if they imagined hee worshipped that, which when he with signes denied, they pointed to the Sunne rising, which he likewise disliked, lifting up his hands againe, then they looked about, as though they would see what Starre it might be, laughing one to another. After this ended, they which have wives take them a part, and withdraw themselves severally into the wood all night. *They lye with their wives secretly.*

The next morning, as soone as they saw the Sunne rise, they pointed to him to come with them to our Ship, and having received their men from us, they came with all their Canoas and company hovering about our Ship, to whom (because it was the Sabbath day,) I signed they should depart, and at the next Sunne rising wee would goe along with them to their houses, which they understood (as we thought) and departed: three of their Canoas coursing about the Iland, and the others towards the Maine. This day about five a clocke afternoone, came three other Canoas from the Maine, of which some had beene with us before, and they came directly aboord us, and brought us Tobacco, which we tooke with them in their Pipe, which was made of earth very strong, but blacke and short, containing a great quantity. Some Tobacco they gave to our Captaine, and some to me, in very civill kinde manner: we requited them with Bread and Pease. When we came at Shoare, they all most kindely entertained us, taking us by the hands, as they had observed we did to them aboord in token of welcome, *Their Tobacco Pipe.*

and brought us to sit downe by their fire, where sat together thirteene of them. They filled their Tobacco Pipe, which was then the short claw of a Lobster, which will hold ten of our Pipes full, and we dranke of their excellent Tobacco as much as we would with them; but wee saw not any great quantity to trucke for, and it seemed they had not much left of old, for they spend a great quantity yearely by their continuall drinking: they would signe unto us that it was growne yet but a little above ground, but it would be high, with a leafe as broad as both their hands; and often would (by pointing to one part of the Maine Eastward) signe unto us that the Bashabe (whom wee take to be their King, or some great Commander) had plenty of Furres and much Tobacco.

They gave us Tobacco in a Pipe of a Lobsters Claw.

At our departure they made signe, if any of us would stay there a shoare, some of them would goe lye aboord with us: at which motion Master Booles, servant to the Right Honorable Count Arundell, being desirous to see the manner of the foresaid Ceremonies, staied with them, and had Griffin with him: and three of the Savages lodged with us, in manner as the night before.

Master Booles lay a shoare, and Griffin.

Early the next morning being Munday, the third of June, when they had brought our men a boord, they came about our Shippe, earnestly by signes desiring we would goe with them along to the Maine, for there they had Furres and Tobacco to traffique with us. Wherefore our Captaine manned the Shallop, with as many men as he could well, which was but fifteene with the Rowers, and we went along with them: two of their Canoas they sent away before, and they which were aboord us all night kept company with us to direct us. This we noted as we went along, they in the Canoa with three Oares, would at their will goe a head of us and about us, when we rowed with eight Oares strong: such was the swiftnesse by reason of the lightnesse, and exquisite composition of their Canoa and Oares.

[IV. viii. 1663.]

Their Canoa out-rowed us.

When we came neere the point, where we saw their fires, where they intended to land, and where they imagined some

few of us should come on Shoare with our merchandise, as wee had accustomed before: when they had often numbred our men very diligently, they scoured away to their company, not doubting we would have followed them. But when wee perceived this, and knew not either their intents, or number of Savages on the Shoare, our Captain after consultation stood of and weffed them to us, determining that I should goe a Shoare first to take a view of them, and what they had to traffique, if he whom at our first sight of them seemed to be of most respect, and being then in the Canoa, would stay as a pawne for me. When they came to us (notwithstanding all our former courtesies) he utterly refused, but would leave a yong Savage, and for him our Captaine sent Griffin in their Canoa, while we lay hulling a little of. He at his returne reported, they had there assembled together, as he numbred them, two hundred fourescore and three Savages, every one his Bowe and Arrowes, with their Dogges, and Wolves which they keepe tame at command: and not any thing to exchange at all, but would have drawne us farther up into a little narrow nooke of a River, for their Furres as they pretended.

283. *Savages assembled in a trecherie.*

We began to alter our opinion of them, and to joyne them in the ranke of all Savages, who have beene by all travailers and in all discoveries found very treacherous, never attempting mischiefe, untill (by some remisnesse) fit opportunity affordeth them certaine ability to execute the same. Wherefore we humbly gave God thankes, who had given us understanding to prevent this, and thereby warning to foresee and prepare our selves against the like danger. And after good advise taken, our Captaine determined, so soone as we could to Ship some of them, least (being suspicious we had discovered their plots) they should absent themselves from us, which surely they had done, if we had not laid hold of the next occasion.

Disposition of Savages in the Virginian Masacre, & other their dealings found too true.

Tuesday came to the Ship, there were two Canoas, and in either of them three Savages, of whom two were below at the fire, the other staied about the Ship for victuall:

and because we could by no meanes entice them aboord, we gave them a Can of Pease and Bread, which they carried to the shoare to eate, but one of them brought backe our Can againe presently, and staied aboord with the other two, for he being yong of a ready capacitie, and one wee most desired to bring with us into England, had received exceeding kinde usage at our hands, and therefore was much delighted in our company: we shipped him, and foure others, two Canoas, with all their Bowes and Arrowes, which is the chiefe substance they possesse.

We caught five Savages, two Canoas, and Bowes, Arrows.

Saturday the eight of June, our Captaine being desirous to finish all businesse about this Harbour, very early in the morning with the Pinnace coasted five or sixe leagues about the Ilands adjoyning, and sounded all along wheresoever he went: he likewise diligently searched and sounded along before the mouth of the Harbour, about the Rocks which shew themselves at all times, and are an excellent breach of the water, so as no Sea can come in to offend the Harbour. This he did to instruct himselfe, and thereby able to direct others that shall happen to come to this place: for every where both neere the Rockes and in all sounding about the Ilands, wee never found lesse water then foure or five fathome, which was very seldome, but seven, eight, nine, and ten fathome, is the continuall sounding by the shoare, in some places much deeper, upon clay Oaze or soft Sand.

Our Captaine sounded about the Ilands Rockes and mouth of the Harbour.

This day about one a clocke afternoone, came from the Eastward two Canoas aboord us, wherein was he that refused to stay with us for a Pawne, and with him six other Savages, whom we had not seene, who had beautified themselves after their manner very gallantly, though their cloathing was not different from the former, yet they had newly painted their faces very deepe, some all blacke, some red, with stripes of blew over their upper lip, nose, and chin. One of them ware a kinde of Coronet about his head, made very cunningly of a substance like stiffe haire, coloured red, broad, and more then a handfull in depth, which he so much esteemed, as he would not for any trucke

Two Canoas came aboord us from the Bashabe.

Their Ornaments of gallantnesse.

exchange the same: other weare the white feathered skins of some Fowle round about their head, Jewels in their eares, & Bracelets of little white round bone, fastened together upon a leather string. These made not any shew that they had notice of the other before taken, but we understood them by their speech & signes, that they came sent from the Bashabe, and that his desire was, we would bring up our Ship (which they call a Quiden) to his house, being as they pointed upon the Maine towards the East, from whence they came, and that hee would exchange with us for Furres and Tobacco: but because we had no desire to discover any further that way, and now making what speede we could up the River; wee let them understand, that if their Bashabe would come to us, hee should be very welcome, but wee would not remove to him. [IV. viii. 1664.]

We went up into the River with our Ship.

Tuesday, the eleventh of June, we passed up into the River with our Ship about six and twenty miles; of which (were it not of necessitie I must report somewhat) I had much rather not to write, then by my relation to detract from the worthinesse thereof, not being sufficient in words to expresse the abundant utilitie and sweete pleasantnesse it yeeldeth. For the River besides that it is subject hereafter by Shipping to bring in all traffiques of Merchandise.

The profits of the River.

The first and chiefest thing required for a Plantation, is a bold Coast, and faire Land to fall with. The next, a safe Harbour for Ships to ride in.

Saint Georges Iland the Land fall.

The first is a speciall attribute to this Shoare, being most free from Sands or dangerous Rockes, in a continuall good depth, with a most excellent Landfall as can be desired; which is the first Iland, named Saint Georges Iland. For the second, by judgement of our Captaine, who knoweth most of the Coast of England, and most of other Countries (having beene experienced by implyments in discoveries and travailes from his childehood) and by opinion of others of good judgement in our Ship. Here are more good Harbours for Ships of all burthens, then

all England can afoord: And farre more secure from all windes and weathers, then any in England, Scotland, Ireland, France, Spaine, or any other part hitherto discovered, whereof we have received any relation: for (besides without the River in the channell and Sounds about the Ilands adjoyning to the Mouth thereof, no better riding can be desired for an infinite number of ships) the River it selfe, as it runneth up into the Maine very nigh fortie miles towards the great Mountaines, beareth in breadth a mile, sometimes three quarters, and halfe a mile is the narrowest, where you shall never have under foure or five fathom water hard by the Shoare, but six, seven, eight, nine, and ten fathom at a low water. And on both sides, every halfe mile, verie gallant Coves, some able to containe almost a hundred Sayle, where the ground is excellent soft oaze with a tough clay under for Anker hold; and where Ships may lye without either Anker or Cable onely mored to the Shoare with a Hazur. It floweth, by their judgement, sixteene or eighteene foote at a high water. Here are made by nature most excellent places, as Dockes to grave and Carine Ships of all burthens, secured from all windes, which is such a necessary incomparable benefit, that in few places in England, or in any other parts of Christendome, Art with great charges can make the like.

The breadth of the River for almost 40. miles.

The ground is Oaze & Clay.

What it floweth.

Docks to grave and Carine Ships.

Salmons and store of fish.

It yeeldeth plentie of Salmons, and other fishes of great bignesse, and assuredly great probabilitie of better things therein to be found, seeing about the Ilands wee had such certaine hope of Pearle and Oare. Besides all these commodities innative to this River, the bordering Land is a most rich neighbour trending all along on both sides, in an equall Plaine, neither Mountainous nor Rockie, but verged with a greene bordure of grasse, doth make tender unto the beholder of her pleasant fertility, if by clensing away the woods, shee were converted into Medow. The Wood it beareth is no shrubbish, fit onely for fewell, but good tall Firre, Spruce, Birds, Beech, and Oake, which in many places is not so thicke, but may with small labour be

The Land.

The Wood.

made feeding ground, being plentifull like the outward Ilands with fresh water, which streameth downe in many places.

As we passed with a gentle winde up with our Ship in this River, any man may conceive with what admiration wee all consented in joy; many who had beene travellers in sundry Countries, and in the most famous Rivers, yet affirmed them not comparable to this they now beheld. Some that were with Sir Walter Raleigh, in his Voyage to Guiana, in the Discovery of the River Orienoque, which eccoed fame to the worlds eares; gave reasons why it was not to be compared with this, which wanteth the dangers of many Shoalds and broken grounds, wherewith that was encombred. Others preferred it farre before that notable River in the West Indias, called Rio Grande: some before the Rivers of Burduna, Orleance, and Brest in France, Naunce, and the River of Rhoane: which although they be great and goodly Rivers, yet it is no detraction from them to be accounted inferiour to this, which not onely yeeldeth all the aforesaid pleasant profits, but also appeared infallibly to us free from all imagined inconveniences. I will not preferre it before our River of Thames, because it is Natale solum, Englands richest treasure, but wee all did wish those excellent Harbours, good Deepes, in a continuall convenient breadth, and small tide gates, to be as well therein for our Countrie good, as wee found them here (beyond our hopes) in certaine for those to whom it shall please God to grant this Land for habitation: which if it had with the other inseperable adherent Commodities here to be found; then I would boldly affirme it to be the most rich, beautifull, large, and secure harbouring River that the world affordeth; for if man should wish, or Art invent, a River subject to all conveniencies, and free from all dangers, here they may take a view in a Plat-forme framed by Nature, who in her perfection farre exceedeth all Arts invention.

This River preferred before Orienoque.

Before the River Rio Grande.

Nescio qua Natale solum, &c.

Wednesday the twelfth of June, our Captaine manned his Shallop with seventeene men, and ran up to the Codde

of the River, where we landed, leaving six to keepe the Shallop till our returne. Ten of us with our Shot, and some armed, with a Boy to carry Powder and Match, marched up into the Countrie towards the Mountaines, which we descried at our first falling with the Land, and were continually in our view. Unto some of them the River brought us so neere, as we judged our selves when we landed, to have beene within a league of them, but we found them not, having marched well nigh foure miles up in the Maine, and passed three great hils; wherefore because the weather was parching hot, and our men in their Armour not able to travell farre and returne to our Pinnasse that night, we resolved not to passe any further, being all very weary of so tedious and laboursome a travell.

We marched up into the land above three miles.

[IV. viii. 1665.]

Good Pasture.

In this march we passed over very good ground, pleasant and fertile, fit for pasture, having but little wood, and that Oake, like stands left in our Pastures in England, good and great fit timber for any use; some small Birch, Hazell and Brake, which might in small time be clensed with few men, and made good errable Land; but as it is now will feede Cattell of all kindes with Fodder enough for Summer and Winter. The soyle is good, bearing sundry Hearbes, Grasse, and Strawberries, in many places are low thickets, like our Copisses of small Wood: And it doth all resemble a stately Parke, wherein appeare some old trees with high withered tops, and other flourishing with living greene boughes: till we came to the Hils upon which doe grow exceeding tall, streight, and excellent great timber of sundry kindes, mast for Ships of foure hundred tunnes, and at the bottome of every hill, a little run of fresh water; but the furthest and last we came unto ran with a great streame able to drive a small Mill. Wee might see in some places, where Deere and Hares had beene; and by the rooting of ground we supposed wilde Hogs had ranged there, but we could descry no Beast, because our noise still chased them from us.

Timber trees upon the Hils.

Deere.

Hares.

Hogges.

We were no sooner come aboord our Pinnasse, return-

ing towards our Ship, but wee espied a Canoa comming from the further part of the Cod of the River Eastward, which hasted to us; wherein with two others was he whom we accounted chiefe of his Company: and his comming was very earnestly importuning to have one of our men to goe lye with their Bashabe or Captaine (as they now tearmed him) who was there ashoare (as they signed) and then the next morning he would come to our Ship with Furres and Tobacco. This we perceived to be onely a meere device to get possession of any of our men, to ransome all those we had taken; which their naturall pollicy could not so shaddow, but we did easily discover and prevent.

A plot of the Savages.

These meanes were by this Savage practised, because we had one of his kinsmen prisoner, as we judged by his most kinde usage of him, being aboord us together.

Thursday, the thirteenth of June, by two a clocke in the morning (because our Captain would take the helpe and advantage of the Tide) in the Pinnace with our Company well provided and furnished with Armour and Shot both to defend and offend: we went from our Ship up to that part of the River which trended West into the Maine, to search that, and wee carried with us a Crosse to erect at that point; which, because it was not day-light, we left on shoare untill our returne backe, when we set it up in manner as the former. And this we diligently observed, that in no place either about the Ilands, or up in the Maine, or along the River, wee could discerne any token or signe that ever any Christian had beene before; which either by cutting wood, digging for water, or setting up Crosses (a thing never omitted by any Christian travailours) wee should have perceived some mention left.

We searched the Westerne part of the River.

We set up another Crosse.

We saw no signe that ever Christian had beene here before.

But to returne to our River, up into which we then rowed by estimation twenty miles. What profit or pleasure is described and truely verified in the former part of the River, is wholly doubled in this; for the breadth and depth is such, that any Ship drawing seventeene or

eighteene foote water might have passed as farre as we went with our Shallop, and by all our judgements much further, because we left it in so good depth; which is so much the more to be esteemed of greater worth, by how much it trendeth further up into the Maine: for from the place of our Ships riding in the Harbour, at the entrance into the Sound, to the furthest point wee were in this River, by our estimation was not much lesse then threescore miles. From each Banke of this River, are divers branching streames running into the Maine, whereby is afforded an unspeakeable profit, by the conveniency of easie transportation from place to place, which in some Countries is both very chargeable, and not so fit, by Carriages on Wane or Horsebacke. Here wee saw store of Fish, some leaping above water, which we judged to be Salmon, for they were great. All along is an excellent mould of ground, the wood in most places, especially on the Easterne side, very thin, chiefely Oake and small Birch, bordering low upon the River, all fit for Meddow and pleasant Pasture ground. And in that space wee went, wee had on both sides the River many plaine places of cleere Meddow, some of three or foure acres, some eight or nine, so as we judged in the whole to be betweene thirty and forty acres of good grasse, and where the Armes runne into the Maine, there likewise went a space on both sides of the cleare grasse, how farre we knew not. In many places we might see pathes Beasts had made to come downe to watering. And we all concluded (as I verily thinke we might rightly) that we should never see the like River in every degree equall, untill it pleased God we beheld the same againe: for the further we went, the more pleasing it was to every man, alluring us still with expectation of better; so as our men (although they had with great labour rowed long, and eate nothing) for we carried with us no victuall but a little Cheese and Bread, yet they were so refreshed with the pleasant beholding thereof, and so loath to forsake it, as some of them affirmed, they would have continued

Conveniency of transportation.

Salmon and great plenty of fish.

We were all loath to forsake this River.

willingly with that onely fare and labour two dayes; but the Tide not suffering us to make any longer stay (because we were to come backe with the ebbe) and our Captaine better knowing what was fit, then we; and better what they in labour were able to endure, being very loath to make any desperate hazard, where so little necessitie required, thought it best to make returne, because whether we had discovered, was sufficient to conceive that the River ranne very farre into the Land: for we passed sixe or seven miles altogether fresh water (whereof we all dranke) forced up by the flowing of the Salt, which after a great while ebbe where we left it, by bredth and depth of Channell was likely to runne by estimation of our whole companie an unknowne way further. And as our Captaine verily thought (although hee then concealed it) might possibly make a passage into (or very nigh) the South Sea: which hee neither had commission nor time now to search, but hath left that till his next returne: if it shall so please God to dispose of him and us. [IV. viii. 1666.]

Friday the fourteenth of June early, by foure a clocke in the morning with the Tide, our two Boats, and a little helpe of the winde, we warped our shippe downe to the Rivers mouth: and there came to an anchor about eleven a clocke. Afterward our Captaine in the Pinnace, searched the sounding all about the mouth and comming into the River, for his certaine instruction of a perfect description.

The Iland where we watered is named Insula Sanctæ Crucis, because there wee set our first Crosse.

The next day being Saturday, we weighed anchor, and with a briefe from the Land, we sayled up to our watering place, and there stopped, went ashoare, and filled all our empty caske with fresh water.

Our Captaine made his perfect observation on the Rocke.

Our Captaine upon the Rocke in the middest of the Harbour made his certaine observation by the Sunne, of the height, latitude, and variation exactly upon all his Instruments: 1. Astrolabe. 2. Semisphere. 3. Ring-instrument. 4. Crosse staffe. 5. And an excellent Compas, made for the variation. The latitude he found to be 43. degrees 20. minutes, North. The variation, 11. degrees 15. minutes, viz. one point of the Compas

Westward. And it is so much in England at Lime-house by London, Eastward. The temperature affoorded to us no speciall alteration from our disposition in England: somewhat hotter up into the Maine, because it lieth open to the South, but scarse yeelding a sensible difference to any of us. The aire so wholsome, as I suppose, not any of us found our selves at any time more healthfull, more able to labour, nor with better stomachs to such good fare, as we partly brought, and partly found.

Temperature of climate.

Sunday the sixteenth of June, the winde being faire, and because wee had set out of England upon a Sunday, descried the Ilands upon a Sunday, and (as we doubted not) by Gods appointment, happily fallen into our Harbour upon a Sunday: so now beseeching him with like prosperitie to blesse our returne into England: and from thence (with his good-will and pleasure) to hasten and fortunate our next arrivall here. Wee set sayle and quit the Land upon a Sunday.

Tuesday the eighteenth day of June, being not runne above five and thirty leagues from Land, and our Captaine for his certaine knowledge how to fall with the Coast, having sounded every watch, and from fifty fathom had come in good deeping to seventy, and so to an hundred. This day, the weather being faire, after the foure a clocke watch, when he thought not to have found ground, before sounding in above a hundred fathom, we had ground in foure and twenty fathom. Wherefore our Sayles being downe, one of our men presently cast out a hooke, and before hee judged it at ground was fished and haled up an exceeding great and well fed Cod: then there were cast out three or foure hookes more, the fish was so plentifull and so great, as when our Captaine would have set sayle, we desired him to suffer them to take fish a while, because wee were so delighted to see them catch fish so great, so fast as the hooke came downe, some playing with the hooke they tooke by the backe. And one of the Mates, with two hookes at a Lead, at five draughts together haled up ten fishes all were generally very great,

A fishy banke.

some were measured. This caused our Captaine not to marvell at the shoalding: for he perceived it was a fish-banke, which (for our farewell from the Land) it pleased God in the continuance of his blessings to give us knowledge of.

Sunday the fourteenth of July about six a clocke at night we were come into sounding in our Channell: but for want of sight of the Sunne and Starre, to make a true observation: and with contrary windes we were constrained to beate up and downe till Tuesday the sixteenth of July, when by five a clocke in the morning wee made Sylly: from whence hindred with calmes and small windes. Upon Thursday the eighteenth of July about foure a clocke wee came to anchor safely in Dartmouth, which Haven haply (with Gods assistance) wee made the last and first Harbour in England, as the Termini of our Voyage.

A briefe Note of what profits we found the Countrie yeeld: in the small time of our stay there.

Trees. Oake, of an excellent graine, straight, and great timber; Elme, Beech, Birch, very tall and great, of whose Barque they make their Canoas; Nut-hasle, Hasle, Alder, Cherry tree, Ash, Maple, Ewe, Spruce, Asp, Fir in great abundance; many other fruit trees which we know not. [IV. viii. 1667.]

Fowles. Eagles, Hernshawes, Cranes, Duks great; Geese, Swans, Penguins, Shark, Crow, Raven, Kite, Soga, Mewes, Doves, Turtles, birds of sundry colours; and many other fowles unknown.

Beasts. Deere red and fallow, Beare, Wolfe, Beaver, Otter, Hare, Conie, Marterns, Sables, Hogs, Porkespines, Polcats, Cats, wilde great, Dogs some like Foxes, some like our other beasts the Savages signe unto us with hornes and broad eares; which we take to be Olkes or Loshes.

Fishes. Whales, Porpoise, Seales, Cod, very great; Haddocke, great; Herring, Plaise, Thornbacke, Rock-fish, Lobster, great; Crabbe, Mussels, Cockles, Wilks,

Cunner-fish, Lumpe-fish, Whiting: the Savages signe unto us that they have Tortoise very great.

Plants, Fruits, Herbs. Tobacco, excellent, sweet and strong; Vine, wilde; Strawberries, Raspberries, Gooseberries, Hurtleberries, Corant trees, in abundance; Rose bushes; Pease, which the Savages signe to be very great in the Maine; Ground-nuts; Angelica, a most soveraigne herbe; and an herbe that spreadeth like Camomell, and smelleth like sweet Marjoram, great plenty. Good Dies, which appeare by their painting, which they carrie with them in bladders.

Words which I learned of the Savages, in their Language.

Sunne or Moone, Kesus. Cod-fish, Biskeiore. A fish with hornes, Manedo. Lobster, Shoggah. Rock-fish, Shagatocke. Cockle-fish, Hesucke. Muskell, Shoorocke. Cunner-fish, Tattaucke. Crabbe, Wussorasha. Porpoise, Muscopeiuck. Plaise, Anego. Tortoise, Romcaneeke. Pease, Ushcomono. Tobacco, Tomoch. A leafe, Mebeere. A weed, Cashterush. A Firre tree, Seteock. A stone, Nabscurr. A Bowe, Shoanor. An Arrow, Tobood. Barke of a tree, Mashquere. Water, Shamogoon. Sand, Cheemuck. Crowe, Cagagoose. Haire, Messer or Meris. A beard, Nicowur. A Beare, Rogsoo. Beaver, Paneah. Otter, Nymemano. Rat, Sanuke. Polcat, Pocamka. Cat, Pushuck. Fallow Deere, Coribo. Hogge, Madoso. Red Deere, Moosurr. They tell us of other beasts, which they call, Tasquus, Pisho, Narsim. Teeth, Ibider. A hand and finger, Breeche. A Naile of the hand, Cushe. A legge, Codd. A foot, Musseete. Plum-tree, Epsegan. Strawberry, Pishoa. Gooseberry, Shewanor. Cherry tree, Espegononino. Corant tree, Asheemena. Rashberrie, Kiskeemy. A lippe, Metoan. Fire, Squida. The maine Land, Bemoquiducke. Sea, Shoubbe. Father, Wado. Sonne, Usto. Wane of the Sea, Toboogg. Pitch and Tallow, Poco. Wilde Rose, Minusheck. Birch, Pasquar. Sword, Edagawancke.

Mountaine, Machoucke. Winde, Puckchawsen. Bloud, Pagâgocun. Red Paint, Woroman. Blacke Paint, Cogosho. A Dogge, Remoose. A Ship or Boat, Quiden. An Oare, Wuttohoganor. A Garnepo Fly, Chussuah. Bread, Paune. Raine, Soogoran. A nose, Peech-ten. An Axe or Hatchet, Tomaheegon. A Knife, Quodogon. Oake, Askabesse. White Bone, whereof they have Chaines, Girdles, Bracelets, Speesone. The Cheeke, Canoah. A Shirt or Coat, Tenoganuke. The Chinne, Queh. An Eye, Sheesuck. Eylid, Momon. Forehead, Scottoquah. An Eare, Fawwucke. A fish-hooke, Makeecon. A Rainbow, Shomogon.

The Names of their chiefe Governours, whom they call Sagomoh. 1. Bashabez. 2. Abatuckquishe. 3. Bdahanedo, one of them we have. 4. Abokeesussick. 5. Shurokinit. 6. Psaheno. 7. Mentoelmet. 8. Ageemohuck. 9. Mawermet. 10. Chanacoboin. 11. Amilquin. 12. Muasacoromoneete. These dwell upon the Maine, and weare an ornament of white bone upon their head; and Chaines, and Bracelets, and Girdles, and have their skinne garments laced with them.

The Names of our Virginians. Bdahanedo, Brother to the Bashabes. Amooret, his Brother. Satacomoah. Maneduck. Scikaworrowse.

Thus have I given thee the proceedings of Virginia and New Englands Discoverie: for the originall beginning of the Discoverie, Sir Sebastian Cabot was the first Discoverer both of it and the rest of the Continent of America. The first Plantation was more Southerly by the charges of Sir Walter Raleigh: as before is shewed. The next yeere New Patents were obtained of his Majestie, for a double Plantation in these parts. I trouble not the Reader with the whole Patent, both because it hath sustained diversified alteration, division and subdivision, and because I more minde things there done, than here; for which cause I have also omitted the Articles and instruction two dayes after dated, signed, and sealed, with the Privie Seale for the government of the said

Plantation, of both which I have the Copies by mee; I onely here give thee the beginning of the first Patent, Aprill 10, 1606.

Chap. XIIII.

The description of the Ilands of Açores, or the Flemish Ilands, taken out of Linschoten, with certaine occurrents, and English acts.

Linscot. c. 97. nine Ilands.

He Iles of Açores, or the Flemish Ilands are seven, that is, Tercera, Saint Mary, Saint George, Gratiosa, Pico, and Faiael. There are yet two Ilands called Flores and Corvo, which are not contained under the name of Açores: but yet at this day are under the government of the same Ilands, so that they are in all, accounted nine Ilands.

Why called Açores.

They are called Açores, that is to say, Sparhawkes or Hawkes, because that in their first discovery, they found many Sparhawks, in them, wherof they hold the name, although at this day there is not any there to bee found.

[IV. viii. 1668.]

They are also called the Flemish Ilands, that is, of the Netherlanders, because the first that inhabited the same, were Netherlanders, whereof till this time there is a great number and off-spring remayning, that in manner and behaviour are altogether like Netherlanders, and there is yet in the same Iland a running water, that issueth out of a Hill, and so runneth into the Sea, whereas yet those issues or off-springs of Netherlanders inhabite, and is called Aribera dos Framengos, that is, the Flemish River.

Tercera.

The principall Iland of them all, is that of Tercera, called Insula de Jesus Christus of Tercera. It is betweene fifteene or sixteene miles in compasse, and is altogether a great Cliffe of Land, whereby in it there is little roome: for it is as it were walled round about with Cliffes: but where any strand or sand is, there standeth a Fort. It hath no Havens nor entrance of waters, for the securitie and safety of the shippes, but onely before the chiefe

Towne called Angra, where it hath an open Haven, which in forme is like a Halfe-moone, by the Portugals called Angra, whereof the Towne hath her name. It hath on the one side in manner of an elbow sticking forth, two high Hills, called Bresyl, which stretch into the Sea, so that afarre off they seeme to bee divided from the Iland. Those Hills are very high, so that being upon them, a man may see at the least tenne, or twelve, and sometimes fifteene miles into the Sea, being cleare weather. Upon these Hills there stand two small stone Pillers, where there is a Centinell placed, that continually watcheth to see what shippes are at Sea, and so to advertise those of the Iland: for that as many shippes as he seeth comming out of the West, that is from the Spanish Indies, or Brasilia, Cabo verde, Guinea, and the Portugall Indies, and all other wayes lying South or West, for every shippe hee setteth a Flagge upon the Pillar in the West, and when the shippes which hee descrieth, are more than five, then hee setteth up a great ancient, betokening a whole Fleete of shippes. The like hee doth upon the other Pillar, which standeth in the East, for such shippes as come from Portugall, or other places out of the East or North parts, these Pillars may bee easily seene in all places of the Towne, by reason of the highnesse of the Hills, so that there is not one shippe or sayle that is at Sea, or maketh towards the Iland, but it is presently knowne throughout all the Towne, and over all the whole Iland: for the watch is not holden onely upon those two Hills jutting into the Sea, but also upon all corners, Hills and Cliffes throughout the Iland, and as soone as they perceive any shippes, the Governour and Rulers are presently advertised thereof, that they may take such order therein as neede requireth. Upon the furthest corner into the Sea standeth a Fort, right against another Fort that answereth it: so that those two Forts doe shut and defend the Mouth or open Haven of the Towne, where the shippes lie in the Road, and so no shippe can either goe in or come forth, without the licence or permission of those two Forts. This Towne of Angra *Angra.*

is not onely the chiefe Towne of Tercera, but also of all other Townes within the Ilands thereabouts. Therein is resident, the Bishop, the Governour for the King, and the chiefe place of Judgement, or tribunall Seate of all the Ilands of Açores.

Three miles from this Towne lieth another Towne towards the North, called Villa de Praya, (for Praya is as much to say, as Strand) because it lieth hard by a great strand, and for that cause there is little traffique thither, as not having any convenient place for shippes to come at it: yet sometimes there commeth some one, that by reason of contrary winde cannot get before the Towne of *Angra descried.* Angra, and so by constraint discharge their goods in that Towne, which from thence are carried by Land to Angra, and yet some part thereof is spent and used there. It is walled and well housed, but not many people in it, and such as are in it, doe get their livings most by husbandry: for there are very faire Corne lands. The Iland is likewise very fruitfull and pleasant, it hath much Corne and Wine, *Wines small.* but the Wine is not very good to carry into other Countries thereabouts, because it is small and will not long continue; so that it is used in the Countrey by the common people: but such as are of wealth, for the most part drinke Wines of Madera, and Canaria. It aboundeth *Commodities.* in Flesh, Fish, and all other necessaries and meates for mans bodie, wherewith in time of need they might helpe themselves. Oyle there is none, but it commeth out of Portugall. Also Salt, Pots, Pans, and all kind of earthen Vessells, Chalke, and such like are brought thither out of other places, for there they are not to bee found: for fruits they have (besides Peaches of divers kindes, and *Fruits.* in so great abundance that it is strange) Cherries, Plums, Walnuts, Hasle-nuts, Chesnuts, but those not very good: of Apples, Peares, Oranges and Lemons, with all such like fruits there are sufficient. Of all sorts of Hearbes and Plants, as Coleworts, Radishes, and such like they have at their certaine times of the yeere. They have likewise in that Iland a certaine fruit that groweth under

the earth, like Radishes or other roots, but the Leaves or Plants are Trees like Vines, but different leaves, and groweth longwise upon the ground: it beareth a fruit called Batatas, that is very good, and is so great that it weigheth a pound, some more, some lesse, but little esteemed: and yet it is a great sustenance and food for the common sort of people. It is of good account in Portugall, for thither they use to bring it for a Present, and those of the Iland by reason of the great abundance doe little esteeme it. There is also another kind of stuffe that is sowed like Corne, and is a fruit: it groweth upon the root of the grasse or leaves, and is round and as bigge as a great Pease, but not so round: in eating it tasteth like Earth-nuts, but harder to bite: it is likewise a good meate, and much esteemed in other places: but by reason of the great quantitie thereof, it is most used to fatten their Hogges, and is called Junssa. There is also in the Iland a certaine Plant, which is found in all places thereof in the open fieldes: it groweth as high as a man, and beareth no fruit, onely the roote thereof is a substance of the thicknesse of a mans two fists, and in shew as if it were naturall golden haire, and in handling like soft Silke, which is used there to stuffe and fill their Beddes in stead of Wooll and Feathers: and I doe certainly beleeve, if any man of understanding would take it in hand, it would well be woven. The principallest traffique of this Iland, is their Woade, such as wee use for dying, whereof much is made in that Iland, and is fetched from thence by Englishmen, Scots, and Frenchmen, in barter for Cloathes and other wares, who continually traffique into that Iland: and although by reason of the warres, the Englishmen are forbidden to traffique thither, yet under the names of Scots and Frenchmen, they have continuall trade there. The Iland hath not any wilde beasts or fowles, but very few, saving onely Canary birds, which are there by thousands, where many Birders take them, and thereof make a daily living, by carrying them into divers places. It hath also wonderfull many Quailes,

Batatas.

[IV. viii. 1669.]

Junssas.

A roote fit to be woven.

Woad.

Canary birds.

which they call Codornisen: of tame fowles, as Hennes, and Gynnie Hennes are there likewise great store. Hunting is there little used, but onely for Conies, which are very great: Hares, Harts, Partridges, Venison, and such like, are not there to be found, because of the little respect and care the Inhabitants have to breed any such things. Fish is very plentifull, and of divers kindes, and very good: in Summer there is great store taken, for in Winter they can hardly brooke the Seas. The chiefe moneths *Winter.* of Winter weather for raine and stormes are, Januarie, Februarie, March and Aprill, and also the moneth of September is commonly very stormy: all the other moneths it is commonly good weather. The Countrey is very hilly, and in some places wooddy, full of bushes and trees: it is hard to travell, because their wayes for the most part are stony, so that for a mile, or a mile and *Stones.* a halfe together, men can see no ground, but onely stones, which for sharpnesse and fashion shew like pointed Diamants, whereby one can hardly treade upon it, lest it should cut through both shooes and feet: and yet it is all planted with Vines, so full and thicke, that in Summer time you can hardly see through it, for that the rootes thereof doe growe betweene the stones: so that a man would thinke it impossible that any thing should growe therein: and which is more, in some places it seemeth impossible for a man to treade upon it, being so wilde and desart as it sheweth, and nothing but hard stones and Rockes. On good ground their Vines will not growe, but onely in the wilde and stony places: and for that cause they are much esteemed.

The good groundes and plaine fields, which in some places are very many, especially by Villa da Praya, are sowed with Corne and Woade, and they have so much Corne, that they neede not bring any from other places: although that besides their Inhabitants, and naturall borne Ilanders, they have continually with them fourteene Companies of Spaniards, which are all fedde and nourished by the Corne that groweth in the Countrey, unlesse there

chance to come a hard and unfruitful yeere, as oftentimes it doth, for then they are forced to helpe themselves with forraine Corne, and that especially because of the Souldiers that lie in the Iland: and yet it is strange, that the Corne, and all other things in the Iland continue not above one yeere, and that which is kept above a yeere is naught, and nothing worth. And therefore to keepe their Corne longer than a yeere, they are forced to burie it in the earth for the space of foure or five moneths together, to the which end every Townesman hath his Pit at one end of the Towne in the common high-way, which is appointed for the purpose, and every man setteth his marke upon his Pit-stone: the Corne is but lightly buried in the earth: the holes within are round, and the toppes thereof so wide that a man may creepe in, whereunto there is a stone purposely made to cover it, which shutteth it up very close. Some of the Pittes are so great, as that they may hold two or three lastes of Corne, some greater, and some smaller, as every man hath his provision: and as soone as the Corne is reaped, and fanned (which is in July) every man putteth his Corne into those Pittes, laying straw under and round about it, and then they fill it full, or but halfe full, according as their quantitie is, and so stop it up with the stone, which they cover with earth, and so let it stand untill Christmas, when every man that will fetch home his Corne: some let it lie longer, and fetch it by little and little, as they use it: but the Corne is as good when they take it out, as it was at the first houre that they put it in: and although that Carts, Horses, and men doe commonly passe over it, and also that the raine raineth upon it, yet there entreth not any drop of raine or moisture into it: and if the Corne were not buried in that manner, it would not continue good above foure moneths together, but would be spoiled: and when it hath beene thus for a long time buried in the earth, it will continue the whole yeere through, and then they keepe it in Chists, or make a thing of Mats, like a Coope, to preserve it in, not once

Corne will last but a yeere.

Corne buried.

stirring or mooving it, and so it continueth very good.

The greatest commoditie they have in the Land, and that serveth their turnes best, is their Oxen: and I beleeve they are the greatest and fairest that are to bee found in all Christendome, with unmeasurable great and long hornes. Every Oxe hath his severall name like men, and although there bee a thousand of them in a heard, and that one of them bee called by his name, he presently commeth forth unto his master that calleth him. The Land is very high, and as it seemeth hollow: for that as they passe over a Hill of stone, the ground soundeth under them as if it were a Seller, so that it seemeth in divers places to have holes under the earth, whereby it is much subject to Earthquakes, as also all the other Ilands are: for there it is a common thing, and all those Ilands for the most part have had Myne of Brimstone, for that in many places of Tercera, and Saint Michael, the smoake and savour of Brimstone doeth still issue forth of the ground, and the Countrey round about is all sindged and burnt. Also there are places wherein there are Fountaines and Wells, the water whereof is so hot that it will boyle an egge, as well as if it hung over a fire.

Great Oxen. [IV. viii. 1670.] *Called by their names.* *Brimstone.* *Hot Springs.*

In the Iland of Tercera, about three miles from Angra, there is a Fountaine in a place called Gualua, which hath a propertie, that all the wood which falleth into it, by length of time converteth into stone, as I my selfe by experience have tried. In the same Fountaine by the roote of a tree, whereof the one halfe runneth under that water, and is turned into as hard stone as if it were Steele: and the other part of the roote (which the water toucheth not) is still wood and root, as it should be. The Iland hath great store and excellent kinds of wood, specially Cedar trees, which growe there in so great numbers, that they make Scutes, Carts, and other grosse workes thereof, and is the commonest wood that they use to burne in those Countries, whereby it is the wood that with them is least esteemed, by reason of the great quantity thereof.

Gualua Spring turning wood into stone. *Cedars common.*

There is another kinde of wood called Sanguinho, and is very faire of a red colour, and another sort that they call white Wood, being of it selfe as white as Chalke: other that is perfect yellow, and all naturall without any dying: and therefore there are divers good workemen in Tercera, that are skilfull in Joyners Occupation, and make many fine pieces of worke, as Deskes, Cupboords, Chists, and other such like things, whereof many are carried into Portugall, and much esteemed there, as well for the beauty of the wood, as for the workmanship. And specially the Spanish Fleet, which ordinarily refresh themselves in that Iland, doe carrie much of it from thence; for it is the best and finest that is made in all Spaine and Portugall, although it bee not comparable to the Deskes, and fine workmanship of Nurembergh, and those Countreyes: but for Wood it excelleth all other Countreyes, for that they have in the Spanish Fleete, besides their owne kindes of woods, at the least a thousand sorts of wood of all colours that man can imagine or devise, and so faire, that more fairer can not bee painted. There is a certaine kinde of wood in the Iland Pico, situate and lying twelve miles from Tercera, called Teixo, a most excellent and princely wood, and therefore it is forbidden to bee cut, but onely for the Kings owne use, or for his Officers. The wood is as hard as Iron, and hath a colour within, as if it were wrought, like red Chamlet, with the same water, and the older it is, and the more used, the fairer it is of colour, so that it is worthie to bee esteemed, as in truth it is.

Sanguinho wood.

White and yellow woods.

Teixo a kind of wood as hard as iron.

All those Ilands are inhabited by Portugals: but since the troubles in Portugall, there have beene divers Spanish Souldiers sent thither, and a Spanish Governour, that keepe all the Forts and Castles in their possessions, although the Portugals are put to no charges, nor yet hardly used by them, but are rather kept short, so that not one Souldier dareth goe out of the Towne, with out licence: and therefore men may quietly travell throughout the Iland, both day and night, without any trouble. Likewise they will not suffer any stranger to travell to

Inhabitants.

Souldiers.

Strangers.

see the Countrey: and this order was not brought up by the Spaniards, but by the Portugals themselves, before their troubles, (for they would never permit it:) and which is more, all strangers that came thither were usually appointed a certaine streete, wherein they should sell their wares, and might not goe out of that streete. Now it is not so straightly looked unto, but they may goe in all places of the Towne, and within the Iland, but not about it, to view the Coast: which notwithstanding was granted unto us, by the Governour himselfe, who lent us his Horses to ride about, and gave us leave to see all the Forts, which at this time is not permitted to the naturall borne Ilanders, neither are they so much credited. Wee rode twice about the Iland, which hee granted us leave to doe, by meanes of certaine particular friendship wee had with him: neither could the Portugals hinder us therein, because wee were in the Kings service, as Factors for the Kings Pepper, and for that, they accounted us as naturall borne Portugals: for the Governour would willingly have had mee to have drawne a plot of the whole Iland, that hee might have sent it to the King: wherein I excused my selfe: yet I made him the Towne with the Haven, comming in, and Forts of Angra, which hee sent unto the King, the like whereof you may in this Booke behold: for the which the Governour was greatly affected unto mee, and shewed mee much friendship. Wee had in our Lodging a French Merchant and a Scot, that willingly would have gone with us, to see the Iland, but could not be suffered: for the Portugals thinke that they would take the proportion thereof, and so seeke to defeate them of their right.

[IV. viii. 1671.] But returning to our matter, the Ilands are very good, and holesome ayre, and the diseases that are most common in those Countries, though not very plentifull, but onely here and there one, are one sicknesse called O Ar, that is, a kinde of bad ayre that taketh them, and maketh them altogether lame, or halfe lame of their limmes, or of some one limme: and another sicknesse, that is called

The ayre, a disease.

O Sange, that is, a certaine bloud, that hastely commeth upon a man, as a swelling in the eyes, or other places of the face, or of the body, and is as red as bloud, for (as they say) it is nothing else but meere bloud: these are two diseases like the plague, and are commonnest sicknesses in those Countries, which grow by reason of the great windinesse of the Ilands, that are subject to all stormes and foule weathers, and are unreasonable moist, which is one of the principall causes of these diseases: for the windes are there so strong and dangerous, that they consume both the Iron and the Steele of their houses, and bring them into powder: for I have seene Iron grates in the Kings Custome house, as thicke as a mans arme, and the windowes of hard free stone, which were so consumed by the winde, that the Iron in some places was become as thin as a straw, and the stone in like sort: and therefore in those Countries they use to make their Roofes and Painthouses of stones, which they digge in the water, out of sands upon the Sea coast of those Ilands, whereon the winde hath not so great a power to consume it: and yet that Customehouse had not beene made above six or seven yeares before, at the most. *Strong windes.*

In this Iland besides the two Townes, there are divers great Villages, as Saint Sebastians, Saint Barboran, Altares, Gualva, Villa nova, with many other Parishes and Hamlets: so that for the most part it is built and inhabited, saving onely the places that are wilde and full of Woods, which can hardly be travelled, much lesse inhabited. Their most traffique is (as I said before) the wood that groweth in those Countries, I meane for such as deale in Merchandise, and the workemen that make it: but the rest waite for the fleetes that come and goe to and from the Spanish and Portugall Indies, from Brasilia, Cabo Verde and Guinea: all which Countries doe commonly come unto Tercera to refresh themselves, as lying very fitly for that purpose: so that all the inhabitants doe thereby richly maintaine themselves, and sell all their wares, as well handy workes as victuals unto those Ships: and all the

Ilands round about doe as then come unto Tercera with their wares, to sell it there. For the which cause the Englishmen and other strangers keepe continually about those Ilands, being assured that all Ships for want of refreshing must of force put into those Ilands, although at this time many Ships doe avoide those Ilands, to the great discommodity of the Ilands and the Ships.

S. Michael. From Tercera Southeast, about seven and twenty or eight and twenty miles, lyeth the Iland of Saint Michael, which is about twenty miles long, and is likewise full of Townes and Villages inhabited by Portugals, for ayre and all other things like unto Tercera. The chiefe Towne is called Punta del Gada, where there is great traffique of English, Scots, and Frenchmen, onely (as in Tercera) because of the woad, which is more abundant in that Iland, then in all the rest of them: for that every yeare there is made above two hundreth thousand Quintals of Wood. It hath likewise great abundance of Corne, so that they helpe to victuall all the Ilands that are round about them. It hath neither Havens nor Rivers, but onely the broad Sea, and have lesse safegard and defence then those which are of Tercera: but there they lye not under the commandement of any Fort: so that many set sayle with all the windes, and put to Sea, which in the road of Tercera they may not doe: and therefore the strangers Ships had rather sayle to Saint Michaels, for there they can not be constrained to doe any thing, but what they will themselves to doe. There is also a company of Spaniards in a Castle that standeth by the Towne of Punta del Gada, which is made by the Spaniards for the defence and maintenance of the same towne.

Saint Mary. From the Iland of Saint Michaels Southwards twelve miles, lyeth the Island Santa Maria, which is about ten or twelve miles compasse, & hath no traffique but onely of pot earth, which the other Ilands fetch from thence. It hath no Woad, but is full of all victuals like Tercera, and inhabited by the Portugals. There are no Spaniards in it: because it is a stony Country, like Tercera, and

hard to boord: whereby the inhabitants themselves are sufficient and able enough to defend it. While I remained in Tercera, the Earle of Cumberland came thither, to take in fresh water, and some other victuals; but the inhabitants would not suffer him to have it, but wounded both himselfe and divers of his men, whereby they were forced to depart without having any thing there.

Gratiosa.

From Tercera North Northwest about seven or eight miles, lyeth a little Iland called Gratiosa, and is but five or sixe miles in compasse, a very pleasant and fine Iland, full of all fruits and all other victuals, so that it not onely feedeth it selfe, but also Tercera, and the other Ilands about it, and hath no other kinde of Merchandise: it is well built and inhabited by Portugals, and hath no Soldiers in it, because it is not able to beare the charge. The Earle of Cumberland while I lay in Tercera, came unto that Iland, where himselfe in person, with seven or eight in his company went on land, asking certaine Beasts, Hens, and other Victuals, with Wine and fresh water, which they willingly gave him, and therewith he departed from thence, without doing them any hurt: for the which the inhabitants thanked him, and commended him for his curtesie, and keeping of his promise.

Earle of Cumberland. See sup. l. 6. c. 1.

Saint George.

From Tercera West North-west, eight or nine miles, lyeth the Iland of Saint George. It is about twelve miles long, but not above two or three miles at the furthest in breadth: it is wooddy and full of hils: it hath no speciall traffique, but onely some Woad, and yet very little of it. The inhabitants live most by Cattell and tilling of the Land, and bring much victuals to sell in Tercera: it hath likewise many Cedar trees, and other kindes of wood, that from thence are brought unto Tercera, and sold unto the Joyners, which for that occasion dwell onely in Tercera.

[IV. viii. 1672.]

Fayael.

From Saint George West South-west seven miles, lyeth the Iland called Fayael, which is seventeene or eighteene miles in compasse: it is one of the best Ilands next unto Tercera, and Saint Michaels: it aboundeth in all sorts of victuals, both flesh and fish, so that from this Iland

the most part of victuals and necessaries commeth by whole Carvels unto Tercera: it hath likewise much Woad, so that many English Ships doe traffique thither. The principall road and place is the Towne called Villa dorta: there the Ships likewise doe lye in the open Sea under the Land, as they doe before all the other Ilands: by this Towne there lyeth a fortresse, but of small importance: and because the inhabitants of themselves doe offer to defend the Iland against all enemies, the Soldiers discharged from thence, which before that time lay in the Fort, complaining that they were not able to maintaine nor lodge them. The same time that the Earle of Cumberland was in the Iland of Gratiosa, he came likewise to Fayael, where at the first time that hee came, they began to resist him, but by reason of some controversie among them, they let him land where he rased the Castle to the ground, and sunke all their Ordnance in the Sea, taking with him certaine Carvels and Ships that lay in the road, with provision of all things that hee wanted: and therewith departed againe to Sea. Whereupon the King caused the principall actors therein to be punished, and sent a company of Souldiers thither againe, which went out of Tercera, with all kinde of warlike munition, and great shot, making the Fortresse up againe, the better to defend the Iland, trusting no more in the Portugals. In that Iland are the most part of the Netherlanders offspring, yet they use the Portugals language, by reason they have beene so long conversant among them, and those that used the Dutch tongue are all dead: they are greatly affected to the Netherlanders and strangers.

Fayael taken by Earle Cumberland.

From Fayael Southeast three miles, and from Saint George South-west foure miles, and from Tercera South-west and by West twelve miles, lyeth the Iland called Pico, which is more then fifteene miles in length. It is so named of a high Mountaine that standeth therein called Pico, which is so high, that some thinke it is higher then the Pico of Canaria. When it is cleare weather, it may

Pico.

High Hill.

as perfectly be seene in Tercera, as if it were not halfe a mile from thence, and yet it lyeth above twenty five miles from it: for it is at the furthest end of the Iland towards Fayael. The top of it is seene cleare and bright, but the nether part is covered with clouds, and with the Horizon, whereby the Iland is much spoken of. It is very fruitfull of all kindes of victuals, like Fayael, and hath great store of wood, as Cedars & all other kindes, and also the costly wood Teixo. There they build many Carvels and small Ships: and from thence, by reason of the abundance of wood, they serve the other Ilands with wood. It is also inhabited as the rest are, their chiefe traffique being Cattle & husbandry. It hath much Wine, & the best in all those Ilands, and it hath the savorest & pleasantest Oranges that are throughout all Portugall: so that they are brought into Tercera for a present, as being there very much esteemed, and in my judgement they are the best that ever I tasted in any place. Angra, in the Iland of Tercera is the chiefe Towne and Ruler over all the Flemish Ilands.

Pleasant Oranges.

From Tercera Westward to the Iland named Flores are seventy miles: it is about seven miles compasse, it is also inhabited by Portugals, & hath no speciall merchandise, but onely some wood, it is full of Cattle, and other necessary provisions, and lyeth open to all the world, & to whosoever will come thither, as well Englishmen as others: for that the inhabitants have not the power to resist them. A mile from thence Northward, lyeth a little Iland of two or three miles in compasse called De Corvo. The inhabitants are of the same people that dwell in Flores. Between those two Ilands and round about them, the Englishmen doe commonly stay, to watch the Ships that come out of the West: for those are the first Ilands, that the Ships looke out for and descry, when they saile unto Tercera, whereby the inhabitants do but little prosper, because they are at the pleasure & commandment of all that will come unto them, and take their goods from them, as oftentimes it hapneth. Yet for all their poverty, not

C. 98. *Flores.*

Corvo.

to loose both lands and goods, they must content themselves, and saile with every winde.

The Ile of Tercera lyeth under thirty nine degrees, in the same height that Lisbone lyeth: and is distant from Lisbone lying right East and West two hundred and fifty Spanish miles.

Of certaine notable and memorable accidents that happened during my continuance in Tercera: in which are related many English fleetes, Sea-fights and Prizes.

C. 99. THe second of October Anno 1589. at the Towne of Villa dan Praya, in the Iland of Tercera, two men being in a field hard without the towne were killed with lightning. The ninth of the same month there arrived in [IV. viii. 1673.] Tercera 14. Ships, that came from the Spanish Indies, laden with Cochenile, Hides, Gold, Silver, Pearles, and other rich wares. They were fifty in company, when they departed out of the Iland of Havana, whereof, in their comming out of the Channell, eleven sunk in the same Channell by foule weather, the rest by a storme were scattered & separated one from the other. The next day there came another Ship of the same company, that sailed close under the Iland, so to get into the Road; where she met with an English Ship, that had not above three cast Peeces, & the Spaniard twelve. They fought a long time together, which we being in the Iland might stand & behold: whereupon the Governor of Tercera sent two Boats of Musketiers to helpe the Ship; but before they could come at her, the English Ship had shot her under water, and we saw her sinke into the Sea, with all her sailes up, and not any thing seene of her above the water. The Englishmen with their Boate saved the Captaine and about thirty others with him, but not one peny worth of the goods, & yet in the Ship there was at the least to the value of 200000. Ducats in Gold, Silver, and Pearles, the rest of the men were drowned, which might be about 50.

persons, among the which were some Friers and women, which the Englishmen would not save. Those that they had saved they set on land; & then they sailed away. The 27. of the same month, the said 14. Ships having refreshed themselves in the Iland, departed from Tercera towards Sivil, and comming upon the coast of Spaine, they were taken by the English Ships, that lay there to watch for them, two onely excepted which escaped away, & the rest were wholly carried into England.

About the same time the Earle of Cumberland, with one of the Queenes Ships, and five or six more, kept about those Ilands and came oftentimes so close under the Iland, and to the Road of Angra, that the people on land might easily tell all his men that he had aboord, and knew such as walked on the Hatches: they of the Iland not once shooting at them, although they might easily have done it, for they were within Musket shot both of the Towne and Fort. In these places he continued for the space of two Moneths, and sailed round about the Ilands, and landed in Gratiosa and Fayael, as in the description of those Ilands I have already declared. Here he tooke divers Ships and Carvels, which he sent into England: so that those of the Iland durst not once put forth their heads. At the same time about three or foure dayes after the Earle of Cumberland had beene in the Iland of Fayael, and was departed from thence, there arrived in the said Iland of Fayael six Indian Ships, whose Generall was one Juan Doryus: and there they discharged in the Iland fortie Millions of Gold and Silver. And having with all speede refreshed their Ships, fearing the comming of the Englishmen, they set saile, and arrived safely in Saint Lucas, not meeting with the enemy, to the great good lucke of the Spaniards, and hard fortune of the Englishmen; for that within lesse then two daies, after the Gold and Silver was laden again into the Spanish Ships, the Earle of Cumberland sailed againe by that Iland; so that it appeared that God would not let them have it, for if they had once had sight thereof, without doubt

40. *Millions, if the number be true.*

it had beene theirs, as the Spaniards themselves confessed.

In the moneth of November, there arrived in Tercera two great Ships, which were the Admirall and Viceadmirall of the Fleete laden with Silver, who with stormy weather were seperated from the Fleete, and had beene in great torment and distresse, and ready to sinke; for they were forced to use all their Pumps; so that they wished a thousand times to have met with the Englishmen to whom they would willingly have given their Silver, and all that ever they brought with them, onely to save their lives. And although the Earle of Cumberland lay still about those Ilands, yet they met not with him, so that after much paine and labor they got into the Road before Angra, where with all speed they unladed, & discharged above 5. *Five millions* Millions of Silver, all in peeces of 8. and 10. pound great: so that the whole Ray lay covered with plates & Chests of Silver, full of Ryals of eight, most wonderfull to behold: each Million being ten hundred thousand Ducats, besides Pearles, Gold, and other stones, which were not registred. The Admiral & chief commander of those Ships and Fleete called Alvaro Flores de Quiniones was sicke of the Neapolitan disease, and was brought to land, whereof not long after he dyed in Syvilia. He brought with him the Kings broad Seale and full authority to be Generall & chiefe commander upon the Seas, and of all Fleets or Ships, and of all places & Ilands, or Lands wheresoever he came: whereupon the Governor of Tercera did him great honor, and betweene them it was concluded, perceiving the weaknesse of their Ships, and the danger of the Englishmen, that they would send the Ships empty with Soldiers to convey them, either to Sivil or Lisbone, where they could first arrive, with advise unto his Majesty of all that had past, and that he would give order to fetch the Silver, with good and safe convoy. Whereupon the said Alvaro Flores staied there, under colour of keeping the Silver, but specially because of his disease, and for that they were afraid of the Englishmen.

This Alvaro Flores had alone for his owne part above fifty thousand Ducats in Pearles, which he shewed unto us, and sought to sell them, or barter them with us for Spices, or bils of exchange. The said two Ships set saile with three or foure hundred men, as well Soldiers as others, that came with them out of India, and being at Sea had a storme, wherewith the Admirall burst and sunke in the Sea, and not one man saved. The Vice-admirall cut downe her Mast, and ranne the Ship on ground hard by Sentuval, where it burst in peeces, some of the men saving themselves by swimming, that brought the newes, but the rest were drowned.

In the same moneth, there came two great ships out of the Spanish Indies, and being within halfe a mile of the Road of Tercera, they met with an English shippe, that after they had fought long together, tooke them both. About seven or eight moneths before, there had beene an English ship in Tercera, that under the name of a Frenchman came to traffique in the Iland, there to lade wood, and being discovered was both ship and goods confiscated to the Kings use, and all the men kept prisoners: yet went they up and downe the streets to get their livings, by labouring like slaves, being in deed as safe in that Iland, as if they had beene in prison. But in the end upon a Sunday all the Sailers went downe behind the Hils called Bresill: where they found a Fisherboat, whereinto they got, and rowed into the Sea to the Earle of Cumberlands ship, which to their great fortune chanced at that time to come by the Iland, and anchored with his ships about halfe a mile from the Road of Angra, hard by two small Ilands, which lye about a Bases shot from the Iland, and are full of Goats, Buckes, and Sheepe, belonging to the Inhabitants of the Iland of Tercera. Those Saylers knew it well, and thereupon they rowed unto them with their Boats, and lying at Anchor that day, they fetched as many Goats and Sheepe as they had neede of: which those of the Towne and of the Iland well saw and beheld, yet durst not once go forth, so there remayned no more on Land [IV. viii. 1674.]

but the Master, and the Merchant, of the said English ship. This Master had a Brother in Law dwelling in England, who having newes of his brothers imprisonment in Tercera, got licence of the Queene of England, to set forth a ship, therewith to see if he could recover his losses of the Spaniards, by taking some of them, and so to redeeme his brother, that lay prisoner in Tercera, and he it was, that tooke the two Spanish shippes before the Towne. The Master of the ship aforesaid, standing on the shore by me, and looking upon them, for he was my great acquaintance, the ships being taken, that were worth three hundred thousand Duckets, he sent all the men on Land saving only two of the principall Gentlemen, which he kept aboord, thereby to ransome his brother: and sent the Pilot of one of the Indian ships that were taken, with a Letter to the Governour of Tercera: wherein he wrote that hee should deliver him his brother, and he would send the two Gentlemen on Land: if not, he would saile with them into England, as indeed he did, because the Governour would not doe it, saying that the Gentlemen might make that suite to the King of Spaine himselfe. The Spanish Pilot we bid to supper with us, and the Englishmen likewise, where hee shewed us all the manner of their fight, much commending the order and manner of the Englishmens fighting, as also for their courteous using of him: but in the end the English Pilot likewise stole away in a French ship, without paying any ransome as yet.

In the moneth of January 1590. there arrived one ship alone in Tercera, that came from the Spanish Indies, and brought newes, that there was a fleet of a hundred ships which put out from the Firme Land of the Spanish Indies, and by a storme were driven upon the Coast called Florida, where they were all cast away, she having only escaped, wherein there were great riches, and many men lost, as it may well be thought: so that they made their account that of two hundred and twentie ships, that for certaine were knowne to have put out of Nova Spaigna, Santo

Domingo, Havana, Capo verde, Brasilia, Guinea, &c. In the yeere 1589. to sayle for Spaine in Portugall, there were not above fourteene or fifteene of them arrived there in safetie, all the rest being either drowned, burst or taken.

In the same Moneth of January, there arrived in Tercera fifteen or sixteene ships that came from Sivilia, which were most Flie-boats of the low Countries, and some Brittons that were arrested in Spaine: these came full of Souldiers, and well appointed with munition, to lade the silver that lay in Tercera, and to fetch Alvares de Flores, by the Kings commandement into Spaine. And because that time of the yeere there is alwayes stormes about those Ilands, therefore they durst not enter into the Road of Tercera, for that as then it blew so great a storme, that some of their ships that had anchored, were forced to cut downe their Masts, and were in danger to bee lost: and among the rest a ship of Biscay ranne against the Land, and was stricken in pieces, but all the men saved themselves. The other ships were forced to keepe the Sea, and separate themselves one from the other, where winde and weather would drive them, untill the fifteenth of March: for that in all that time they could not have one day of faire weather to anchor in, whereby they indured much miserie, cursing both the silver and the Iland. This storme being past, they chanced to meete with a small English ship of about fortie tunnes in bignesse, which by reason of the great wind could not beare all her sailes: so they set upon her, and tooke her, and with the English flagge in their Admirals sterne they came as proudly into the Haven, as if they had conquered all the Realme of England: but as the Admirall that bare the English flagge upon her sterne, was entring into the Road, there came by chance two English ships by the Iland, that paid her so well for her paines, that they were forced to cry Misericordia, and without all doubt had taken her, if she had beene but a mile further in the Sea: but because she got under the Fortresse, which also began to shoot at the Englishmen, they were forced to leave her, and to

put further into the Sea, having slaine five or sixe of the Spaniards. The Englishmen that were taken in the small ship were put under hatches, and coupled in bolts, and after they had beene Prisoners three or foure dayes, there was a Spanish Ensigne-bearer in the ship, that had a brother slaine in the fleet that came for England, who as then, minding to revenge his death, and withall to shew his man-hood to the English Captives, that were in the English shippe, which they had taken, as is aforesaid, tooke a Ponyard in his hand, and went downe under the Hatches, where finding the poore Englishmen sitting in bolts, with the same Ponyard he stabbed sixe of them to the heart: which two others of them perceiving, clasped each other about the middle, because they would not bee murthered by him, threw themselves into the Sea, and there were drowned. This act was of all the Spaniards much disliked and very ill taken, so that they carried the Spaniard prisoner unto Lisbone, where being arrived, the King of Spaine willed he should be sent into England, that the Queene of England might use him as she thought good: which sentence his friends by intreatie got to bee reversed, notwithstanding he commanded he should without all favour bee beheaded: but upon a good Friday, the Cardinall going to Masse, all the Captaines and Commanders made so great intreatie for him that in the end they got his pardon. This I thought good to note, that men might understand the bloudie and honest mindes of the Spaniards, when they have men under their subjection.

[IV. viii. 1675.]

The same two English ships, which followed the Spanish Admirall, till hee had got under the Fort of Tercera, as I said before, put into the Sea, where they met with an other Spanish ship, being of the same fleete, that had likewise beene scattered by the storme and was only missing, for the rest lay in the Road: this small ship the Englishmen tooke, and sent all the men on shore, not hurting any of them: but if they had knowne, what had beene done unto the foresaid English Captives, I beleeve they would soone have revenged themselves, as afterward many an innocent

soule payed for it. This ship thus taken by the Englishmen, was the same that was kept and confiscated in the Iland of Tercera, by the Englishmen that got out of the Iland in a fisherboat (as I said before) and was sold unto the Spaniards, that as then came from the Indies, wherewith they sailed to Saint Lucas, where it was also arrested by the Duke, and appointed to goe in company to fetch the silver in Tercera, because it was a shippe that sayled well: but among the Spaniards fleete it was the meanest of the Company. By this meanes it was taken from the Spaniards, and carried into England, and the Owners had it againe, when they least thought of it.

The nineteenth of March, the aforesaid ships, being nineteene in number, set saile, having laden the Kings silver, and received in Alvaro Flores de Quiniones, with his company, and good provision of necessaries, Munition and Souldiers, that were fully resolved (as they made shew) to fight valiantly to the last man, before they would yeeld or lose their riches: and although they set their course for Saint Lucas, the wind drave them unto Lisbone, which (as it seemed) was willing by his force to helpe them, and to bring them thither in safetie: although Alvaro de Flores, both against the wind and weather would perforce have sailed to Saint Lucas, but being constrained by the wind, and importunitie of the Sailers, that protested they would require their losses and damages of him, he was content to saile to Lisbone: from whence the silver was by Land carried into Sivilia. At Cape Saint Vincent, there lay a Fleet of twentie English shippes, to watch for the Armada, so that if they had put into Saint Lucas, they had fallen right into their hands, which if the wind had served they had done. And therefore they may say that the wind had lent them a happie Voyage: for if the Englishmen had met with them, they had surely beene in great danger, and possibly but few of them had escaped, by reason of the feare wherewith they were possessed, because Fortune or rather God was wholly against them. Which is a sufficient cause to make the Spaniards

out of heart, to the contrarie to give the Englishmen more courage, and to make them bolder for that they are victorious, stout and valiant: and seeing all their enterprizes doe take so good effect, that thereby they are become Lords and Masters of the Sea, and need care for no man, as it well appeareth by this briefe Discourse.

1590. In the month of March 1590. There was a Blasing Starre with a taile seene in Tercera, that continued foure nights together, stretching the tayle towards the South.

In the moneth of May, a Carvell of Fayael arrived at Tercera, in the Haven or Road of Angra, laden with Oxen, Sheepe, Hennes, and all other kinds of victuals, and full of people, which by a storme had broken her Ruther, whereby the Sea cast her about and therewith she sunke, and in her were drowned three children, and a Frier Franciscan, the rest of the men saved themselves by swimming, and by helpe from the shore, but all the Cattle and Hennes came drowned to land: the Frier was buried with a great Procession and Solemnitie, esteeming him for a Saint, because he was taken up dead with his Booke betweene his armes: for the which cause every man came to looke on him as a Miracle, giving great Offerings to say Masses for his soule.

The first of August, the Governor of Tercera, received advise out of Portugall and Spaine, that two yeeres before the date of his Letters, there were sayled out of England twelve great shippes well appointed, with full resolution to take their journie, seven of them into the Portugall Indies, and the other five to Malacca: of the which five, two were cast away in passing the Straits of Magellanes, and three sayled to Malacca: but what they had done there, was as then not knowne. The other seven passed the Cape de bona Speranza, and arrived in India, where they put into the Coast of Malabares, but let them goe [IV. viii. 1676.] againe: and two Turkish Gallies, that came out of the Straits of Mecca or the Red Sea, to whom likewise they did no hurt. And there they laded their ships with Spices, and returned backe againe on their way: but where or

in what place they had laden, it was not certainely knowne, saving onely that thus much was written by the Governour of India, and sent over Land to Venice, and from thence to Madrill.

The seventh of August, a Navie of English ships was seene before Tercera, beeing twentie in number, and five of them the Queenes ships: their Generall was one Martin Frobisher, as wee after had intelligence. They *M. Frobisher.* came purposely to watch for the fleet of the Spanish Indies, and for the Indian ships, and the shippes of the Countries in the West: which put the Ilanders in great feare, specially those of Fayael, for that the Englishmen sent a Trumpet to the Governour to aske certaine wine, flesh, and other victuals for their money, and good friendship. They of Fayael did not onely refuse to give eare unto them, but with a shot killed their Messenger or Trumpetter: which the Englishmen tooke in evill part, sending them word that they were best to looke to themselves, and stand upon their guard, for they meant to come and visit them whether they would or no. The Governour made them answere, that he was there, in the behalfe of his Majestie of Spaine and that he would doe his best, to keepe them out, as he was bound: but no thing was done, although they of Fayael were in no little feare, sending to Tercera for aide, from whence they had certaine Barkes with Powder and Munition for warre, with some Bisket and other necessary provision.

The thirtieth of August, we received very certaine newes out of Portugall, that there were eightie ships put out of the Carunho, laden with Victuals, Munition, Money, and Souldiers, to goe for Britaine to aide the Catholikes and Leaguers of France, against the King of Navarre. At the same time, two Netherland Hulkes, comming out of Portugall to Tercera, beeing halfe the Seas over, met with foure of the Queenes shippes, their Generall beeing Sir John Hawkins, that stayed them, but let them goe againe, without doing them any harme. The Netherlanders reported, that each of the Queenes

ships had eightie Peeces of Ordnance, and that Captaine Drake lay with fortie ships in the English Channell, watching for the Armie of Carunho: and likewise that there lay at the Cape Saint Vincent tenne other English ships, that if any ships escaped from the Ilands, they might take them. Those tidings put the Ilanders in great feare, lest if they failed of the Spanish fleete, and got nothing by them, that then they would fall upon the Ilands, because they would not returne emptie home, whereupon they held straight watch, sending advise unto the King what newes they heard.

The first of September, there came to the Iland of Saint Michael a Portugall ship, out of the Haven of Pernanbuco, in Brasilia, which brought newes that the Admirall of the Portugall fleet, that came from India, having missed the Iland of Saint Helena, was of necessitie constrained to put in at Pernanbuco, although the King had expresly under a great penaltie forbidden him so to doe, because of the Wormes that there doe spoile the ships. The same ship wherein Bernaldine Rybero, was
1589. Admirall, the yeere before 1589. sayled out of Lisbone into the Indies, with five ships in her company, whereof but foure got into India, the fift was never heard of, so that it was thought to be cast away: The other foure returned safe againe into Portugall, though the Admirall was much spoiled, because he met with two English ships, that fought long with him, and slue many of his men, but yet he escaped from them.

The fift of the same moneth, there arrived in Tercera, a Carvell of the Iland of Corvo, and brought with her fiftie men that had beene spoyled by the Englishmen, who had set them on shore in the Iland of Corvo, being taken out of a shippe that came from the Spanish Indies, they brought tydings that the Englishmen had taken foure more of the Indian ships, and a Carvell with the King of Spaines Letters of advise for the ships comming out of the Portugall Indies, and that with those which they had taken, they were at the least forty English ships

together, so that not one Barke escaped them, but fell into their hands, and that therefore the Portugall ships comming out of India, durst not put into the Ilands, but tooke their course under fortie and fortie two degrees, and from thence sailed to Lisbon, shunning likewise the Cape Saint Vincent, otherwise they could not have had a prosperous journey of it, for that as then the Sea was full of English ships. Whereupon the King advised the fleet, lying in Havana, in the Spanish Indies ready to come for Spaine, that they should stay there all that yeere till the next yeere, because of the great danger they might fall into by the Englishmen, which was no small charge and hinderance to the fleet, for that the ships that lie there doe consume themselves, and in a manner eate up one another, by reason of the great number of people, together with the scarcitie of all things, so that many ships chose rather, one by one to adventure themselves alone, to get home, then to stay there: all which fell into the Englishmens hands, whereof divers of the men were brought into Tercera, for that a whole day we could see *Note.* nothing else, but spoyled men set on shore, some out of one ship some out of another, that pittie it was to see, all of them cursing the Englishmen, and their owne fortunes, with those that had beene the causes to provoke the Englishmen to fight, and complayning of the small remedie and order taken therein by the King of Spaines Officers.

The nineteenth of the same moneth, there came to Tercera a Carvel of Lisbon, with one of the Kings Officers, [IV. viii. 1677.] to cause the goods that were saved out of the ship, which came from Malacca, (for the which we stayed there) to be laden, and sent to Lisbon. And at the same time there put out of the Carunha one Don Alonso de Bassan, with fortie great ships of warre to come unto the Ilands, there to watch for the fleet of the Spanish and Portugall Indies, and the goods of the Malacca ship being laden, they were to convoy them all together into the River of Lisbon: but being certaine dayes at Sea, alwayes having contrary

wind they could not get unto the Ilands: only two of them that were scattered from the fleet, they presently returned backe to seeke them: in the meane time the King changed his minde, and caused the fleet to stay in India, as I said before: and therefore he sent word unto Don Alonso de Bassan, that hee should returne againe to the Carunha, which he presently did, without doing any thing, nor once approching neere the Ilands, saving only the two foresaid ships, for he well knew that the Englishmen lay by the Iland of Corvo, but he would not visit them: and so he returned to the Haven of Carunha, whereby our goods that came from Malacca, were yet to ship, and trussed up againe, forced to stay a more fortunate time, with patience perforce.

1590. The three and twentieth of October, there arrived in Tercera a Carvell, with advise out of Portingall, that of five ships, which in the yeere 1590. were laden in Lisbon for the Indies, foure of them were turned againe to Portingall, after they had beene foure moneths abroad, and that the Admirall, wherein the Vice-roy called Mathias de Alburkerke sailed, had only gotten to India, as afterward newes thereof was brought over Land, having beene at the least eleven monethes at Sea, and never saw Land, and came in great misery to Malacca. In this ship there died by the way two hundred and eightie men, according to a note by himselfe made, and sent to the Cardinall at Lisbon, with the names and surnames of every man, together with a description of his Voyage, and the misery they had indured: which was only done, because he would not lose the government of India: and for that cause he had sworne either to lose his life, or to arrive in India, as indeed he did afterwards, but to the great danger, losse and hinderance of his company, that were forced to buy it with their lives, and onely for want of provision, as it may well bee thought: for he knew full well that if he had returned backe againe into Portingall, as the other ships did, hee should have beene casheered from his Indian Regiment, because the people began alreadie

280. *men die in one ship, in one Voyage, by one mans vanitie.*

to murmurre at him, for his proude and loftie minde. And among other things that shewed his pride the more, behind above the Gallery of his ship, he caused Fortune to be painted, and his owne Picture with a staffe standing by her, as it were threatning Fortune, with this Poesie, Quero quevencas, that is, I will have thee to overcome: which beeing read by the Cardinall and other Gentlemen (that to honour him aboord his ship) it was thought to be a point of exceeding folly. But it is no strange matter among the Portingalls, for they above all others must of force let the Foole peepe out of their sleeves, specially when they are in authoritie: for that I knew the said Mathias de Alberkerk in India, being a Souldier and a Captaine, where he was esteemed and accounted for one of the best of them, and much honoured, and beloved of all men, as behaving himselfe courteously to every man: whereby they all desired that he might be Vice-roy. But when he once had received his Patent with full power and authoritie from the King to be Vice-roy, hee changed so much from his former behaviour, that by reason of his pride, they all began to feare and curse him, and that before he departed out of Lisbon, as it is often seene in many men that are advanced unto state and dignitie.

The twentieth of January, Anno 1591. there was newes 1591.
brought out of Portingall into Tercera, that the Englishmen had taken a ship, that the King had sent into the Portingall Indies, with advise to the Vice-roy, for the returning againe of the foure ships that should have gone to India, and because the ships were come backe againe, that ship was stuffed and laded as full of goods as possible it might be, having likewise in ready money five hundred thousand Duckets in Rials of eight, besides other wares. It departed from Lisbone in the moneth of November 1590. and met with the Englishmen, with whom for a time it fought: but in the end it was taken and carried into England with men and all, yet when they came there the men were set at libertie, and returned into Lisbone, where the Captaine was committed Prisoner: but hee

excused himselfe, and was released, with whom I spake my selfe, and he made this report unto me. At the same time also they tooke a ship that came from the Myne laden with Gold, and two ships laden with Pepper, and Spices that were to saile into Italie, the Pepper onely that was in them, being worth 170000. Duckets: all these ships were carried into England, and made good prize.

Earthquake most terrible.

In the moneth of July, An. 1591, there happened an Earth-quake in the Iland of S. Michaell, which continued from the six and twentieth of July to the twelfth of August: in which time no man durst stay within his house, but fled into the fields, fasting and praying, with great sorrow for that many of their houses fell downe, and a Towne called Villa Franca, was almost cleane razed to the ground all the Cloysters and houses shaken to the earth, and therein some people slaine. The Land in some places rose up, and the Cliffes remooved from one place to another, and some Hils were defaced and made even with the ground. The Earthquake was so strong, that the ships which lay in the Road, and on the Sea, shaked as if the World would have turned round: there sprang also a Fountaine out of the earth, from whence for the space of foure dayes, there flowed a most cleare water, and after that it ceased. At the same time they heard such thunder and noise under the earth, as if all the Divels in hell had beene assembled together in that place, wherewith many died for feare. The Iland of Tercera shooke foure times together, so that it seemed to turne about, but there happened no misfortune unto it. Earth-quakes are common in those Ilands, for about twenty yeares past there happened another earthquake, where in a high Hill that lyeth by the same towne of Villa Franca, fell halfe downe, and covered all the towne with earth, and killed many men.

Prodigies.

[IV. viii. 1678.]

The five and twentieth of August, the Kings Armada, comming out of Farol arrived in Tercera, being in all thirty Ships, Biskaies, Portugals, and Spaniards: and ten Dutch flye-boates, that were arested in Lisbone to serve

the King, besides other small Ships Pataxos, that came to serve as messengers from place to place, and to discover the Seas. This Navie came to stay for, and convoy the Ships that should come from the Spanish Indies, and the flye-boates were appointed in their returne home, to take in the goods that were saved in the lost Ship that came from Malacca, and to convoy it to Lisbone.

The thirteenth of September the said Armado arrived at the Iland of Corvo, where the Englishmen with about sixteene Ships, as then lay, staying for the Spanish Fleete: whereof some or the most part were come, and there the English were in good hope to have taken them. But when they perceived the Kings Army to be strong, the Admirall being the Lord Thomas Howard, commanded his Fleete not to fall upon them, nor any of them once to seperate their Shippes from him, unlesse he gave commission so to doe: notwithstanding the Vice-Admirall, Sir Richard Greenfield, being in the Ship called the Revenge, went into the Spanish Fleete, and shot among them, doing them great hurt, and thinking the rest of the

Sir Richard Greenvile. See Hak. Tom. 2. This Storie penned by Sir Walter Raleigh. There were but six of these Shippes the Queenes: and Sir Richard Greenvile staid to recover his men on shore; 93. of his men were sicke. He scorned to flye as the Master counselled (which had beene better) and thought to made way thorow their squadrons, and made some spring loose till the greatnesse of the S. Philip of 1500. tuns being in the winde of him, becalmed his sailes; so that the Revenge could not feele her sailes nor helme, and was boorded by the S. Philip and foure others. These were beaten off, and fifteen severall Armadas assailed her. All her Powder was spent to the last barrell; nor had first above 100. sound men to sustaine to the brunt. Yet she endured fifteene houres fight, fifteene Armadas by turne, 800. shot, many entries, 53. sailes of men of warre, and 10000. men to doe this. After all this, Sir R. Greenfield now wounded, commanded to blow up the Ship, but the Captaine intreating to the contrary, the Master was sent, unknowne to Sir R. Greenfield, to treat a composition with Bazan the Generall, who yeelded their lives to be saved, and to be sent for England, the better sort to pay ransome, but free meane time from prison and Gallie. Almost 1000. of the enemies were slaine in this fight. Thus have I given you the briefe of Sir Walters report also, to make this storie compleate.

company would have followed: which they did not, but left him there, and sailed away; the cause why they could not know: which the Spaniards perceiving, with seven or eight Ships they boorded her, but she withstood them all, fighting with them at the least twelve houres together, and sunke two of them, one being a new double Flieboate of twelve thousand tunnes, and Admirall of the Flie-boates, the other a Biscaine: But in the end, by reason of the number that came upon her, she was taken, but to their great losse; for they had lost in fighting, and by drowning above foure hundred men; and of the English were slaine about a hundred, Sir Richard Greenfield himselfe being wounded in his braine, whereof afterwards he died. He was borne into the Ship called the Saint Paul, wherein was the Admirall of the Fleete Don Alonso de Barsan: there his wounds were drest by the Spanish Surgeons, but Don Alonso himselfe would neither see him, nor speake with him: all the rest of the Captaines and Gentlemen went to visite him, and to comfort him in his hard fortune, wondring at his courage and stout heart, for that he shewed not any signe of faintnesse nor changing of colour. But feeling the houre of death to approach, he spake these words in Spanish, and said; Here dye I Richard Greenfield, with a joyfull and quiet minde, for that I have ended my life as a true Souldier ought to doe, that hath fought for his Countrey, Queene, Religion, and honour, whereby my Soule most joyfull departeth out of this body, and shall alwayes leave behinde it an everlasting fame of a valiant and true Soldier, that hath done his duetie, as hee was bound to doe. When he had finished these or such other like words, he gave up the Ghost with great and stout courage, and no man could perceive any true signe of heavinesse in him.

This Sir Richard Greenfield was a great and a rich Gentleman in England, and had great yearely revenewes of his owne inheritance: but he was a man very unquiet in his minde, and greatly affected to warre; in so much as of his owne private motion he offered his service to the

Queene. He had performed many valiant acts, and was greatly feared in these Ilands, and knowne of every man; but of nature very severe, so that his owne people hated him for his fiercenesse, and spake very hardly of him: for when they first entred into the Fleete or Armado, they had their great saile in a readinesse, and might possibly enough have sailed away; for it was one of the best Ships for saile in England; and the Master perceiving that the other Ships had left them, and followed not after, commanded the great saile to be cut, that they might make away: but Sir Richard Greenfield threatned both him, and all the rest that were in the Ship, that if any man laid hand upon it, he would cause him to be hanged, and so by that occasion they were compelled to fight, and in the end were taken. He was of so hard a complexion, that as hee continued among the Spanish Captaines while they were at dinner or supper with him, hee would carouse three or foure Glasses of Wine, and in a bravery take the Glasses betweene his teeth, and crash them in peeces, and swallow them downe, so that often times the bloud ran out of his mouth without any harme at all unto him: and this was told me by divers credible persons that many times stood and beheld him. The Englishmen that were left in the Ship, as the Captaine of the Souldiers, the Master and others were dispersed into divers of the Spanish Ships that had taken them, where there had almost a new fight arisen betweene the Biscaines and the Portugals; while each of them would have the honour to have first boorded her, so that there grew a great noise and quarrell among them, one taking the chiefe Ancient, and the other the Flagge, and the Captaine and every one held his owne. The ships that had boorded her were altogether out of order and broken, and many of their men hurt, whereby they were compelled to come into the Iland of Tercera, there to repaire themselves: where being arrived, I and my chamber-fellow, to heare some newes went aboord one of the Ships being a great Biscaine, and one of the twelve Apostles, whose Captaine was called [IV. viii. 1679.]

Bertandono, that had bin Generall of the Biscaines in the fleete that went for England. He seeing us, called us up into the Gallery, where with great curtesie he received us, being as then set at dinner with the English Captaine that sat by him, and had on a sute of blacke Velvet; but he could not tell us any thing, for that he could speake no other language but English and Latine, which Bartandono also could a little speake. The English Captaine that he might come on land with his weapon by his side, and was in our lodging with the Englishman that was kept prisoner in the Iland, being of that ship whereof the sailers got away, as I said before. The Governour of Tercera bad him to dinner, and shewed him great curtesie. The Master likewise with licence of Bartandono came on land, and was in our lodging, and had at the least ten or twelve wounds, as well in his head, as on his body, whereof after that being at Sea, betweene Lisbone and the Ilands he died. The Captaine wrote a Letter, wherein he declared all the manner of the fight, and left it with the English Merchant that lay in our lodging, to send it to the Lord Admirall of England. The English Captaine comming to Lisbone, was there well received, and not any hurt done unto him, but with good convoy sent to Sentuval, and from thence sayled into England, with all the rest of the Englishmen that were taken prysoners.

The Spanish Armie staied at the Iland of Corvo till the last of September, to assemble the rest of the Fleete together: which in the end were to the number of one hundred and forty sayle of Ships, partly comming from India, and partly of the Army, and being altogether ready unto saile to Tercera in good company, there sodainly rose so hard and cruell a storme, that those of the Iland did affirme, that in mans memory there was never any such seene or heard of before: for it seemed the Sea would have swallowed up the Ilands, the water mounting higher then the Cliffes, which are so high that it amaseth a man to behold them: but the Sea reached above them, and living fishes were throwne upon the land. This

Great storme.

storme continued not onely a day or two with one winde, but seven or eight dayes continually, the winde turning round about, in all places of the compasse, at the least twice or thrice during that time, and all alike, with a continuall storme and tempest most terrible to behold, even to us that were on shore, much more then to such as were at Sea: so that onely on the Coasts and Clifts of the Iland of Tercera, there were above twelve Ships cast away, and not onely upon the one side, but round about it in every corner: whereby nothing else was heard but complaining, crying, lamenting, and telling here is a ship broken in peeces against the Cliffes, and there another, and all the men drowned: so that for the space of twenty dayes after the storme, they did nothing else but fish for dead men, that continually came drifting on the shore. Among the rest was the English ship called the Revenge, that was cast away upon a Cliffe neere to the Iland of Tercera, where it brake in a hundred peeces, and sunke to the ground, having in her seventy men Gallegos, Biscaines, and others, with some of the captive Englishmen, whereof but one was saved that got up upon the Cliffes alive, and had his body and head all wounded, and he being on shore brought us the newes, desiring to be shriven, and thereupon presently died. The Revenge had in her divers faire Brasse Peeces, that were all sunke in the Sea, which they of the Iland were in good hope to weigh up againe the next Summer following. Among these Ships that were cast away about Tercera, was likewise a Flie-boate, one of those that had bin arested in Portugall to serve the King, called the White Dove. The Master of her, was one Cornelius Martenson of Schiedam in Holland, and there were in her one hundred Souldiers, as in every one of the rest there was. He being over ruled by the Captaine, that he could not be Master of his owne, sayling here and there at the mercy of God, as the storme drove him, in the end came within the sight of Tercera: which the Spaniards perceiving, thought all their safety onely to consist in putting into

Great hurts.

Revenge revenged with losse of above 100. *other ships of the Spaniards attending her fates: as great a blow as* 88.

the Road, compelling the Master and the Pilot to make towards the Iland, although the Master refused to doe it, saying, that they were most sure there to be cast away, and utterly spoiled: but the Captain called him drunkard, & Heretick, and striking him with a staffe, commanded him to do as he would have him. The Master seeing this, and being compelled to doe it, said: well then my Masters, seeing it is the desire of you all to be cast away, I can but loose one life; and therewith desperately he sailed towards the shoare, and was on that side of the Iland, where there was nothing else but hard stones and Rockes, as high as Mountaines, most terrible to behold, where some of the Inhabitants stood with long ropes and corke bound at the end thereof, to throw them downe unto the men, that they might lay hold upon them and save their lives; but few of them got so neere, most of them being cast away, and smitten in peeces before they could get to the wall. The Ship sailed in this manner [IV. viii. 1680.] (as I said before) towards the Iland, and approaching to the shoare, the Master being an old man, and full of yeares, called his Sonne that was in the ship with him, and having imbraced one another, and taken their last farewell, the good old father willed his Sonne not to take care for him, but seeke to save himselfe: for (said he) sonne, thou art yong, and may have some hope to save thy life, but as for me it is no great matter (I am old) what become of me, and therewith each of these shedding many teares, as every loving father and kinde childe may well consider; the ship fell upon the Cliffes and brake in peeces, the Father on the one side, the sonne on the other side falling into the sea, each laying hold upon that which came next to hand, but to no purpose; for the sea was so high and furious, that they were all drowned, and onely foureteene or fifteene saved themselves by swimming, with their legges and armes halfe broken and out of joynt; among the which was the Masters sonne, and foure other Dutch Boyes: the rest of the Spaniards and sailers, with the Captaine and Master were drowned:

whose heart would not melt with teares to behold so grievous a sight, specially considering with himselfe that the greatest cause thereof was the beastlinesse and insolency of the Spaniards, as in this onely example may well be seene: whereby may be considered how the other ships sped, as we our selves did in part behold, and by the men that were saved did heare more at large, as also some others of our Countrimen that as then were in the like danger can well witnesse.

On the other Ilands the losse was no lesse then in Tercera; for on the Iland of Saint George there were two Ships cast away: on the Iland of Pico two Ships: on the Iland of Gratiosa three ships, & besides those there came everywhere round about divers peeces of broken ships, & other things fleeting towards the Ilands, wherewith the Sea was all covered most pittifull to behold. On the Iland of Saint Michael, there were foure Ships cast away, and betweene Tercera and Saint Michaels three more were sunke, which were seene and heard to crie out, whereof not one man was saved. The rest put into the Sea without Masts, all torne and rent: so that of the whole Fleete and Armado, being one hundred and forty ships in all, there were but thirty two or thirty three arived in Spaine and Portugall, yea and those few with so great misery, paine and labour, that not two of them arrived there together, but this day one, and to morrow another, next day the third, & so one after the other to the number aforesaid. All the rest were cast away upon the Ilands, and overwhelmed in the sea: whereby may be considered what great losse and hinderance they received at that time: for by many mens judgements it was esteemed to be much more then was left by their Armie that came for England, and it may well be thought, *Note.* and presumed, that it was no other but a just plague purposely sent by God upon the Spaniards, and that it might truely be said, the taking of the Revenge was justly revenged upon them, and not by the might or force of man, but by the power of God, as some of them

Caiaphas prophesieth. God taketh part with Lutherans.

openly said in the Isle of Tercera, that they beleeved verily God would consume them, and that he tooke part with Lutherans and Heretickes: saying further, that so soone as they had throwne the dead body of the Viceadmirall Sir Richard Greenfield over-boord, they verily thought that as he had a divellish Faith and Religion, and therefore the Divels loved him, so he presently sunke into the bottome of the Sea, and downe into Hell, where he raised up all the Divels to the revenge of his death: and that they brought so great stormes and torments upon the Spaniards, because they onely maintained the Catholike and Romish Religion: such and the like blasphemies against God, they ceased not openly to utter, without that any man reproved them therein, nor for their false opinions, but the most part of them rather said and affirmed, that of truth it must needes be so.

So then the gates of hell prevaileth against their faith.

As one of those Indian Fleetes put out of Nova Spaigna, there were five and thirty of them by storme and tempest cast away and drowned in the Sea, being fiftie in all, so that but fifteene escaped. Of the Fleete that came from Santo Domingo, there were foureteene cast away, comming out of the Channell of Havana, whereof the Admirall and Viceadmirall were two of them: and from Terra Firma in India, there came two ships laden with Gold and Silver, that were taken by the Englishmen, and before the Spanish Armie came to Corvo, the Englishmen at times had taken at the least twenty ships, that came from Saint Domingo, India, Brasillia, &c. and all sent into England. Whereby it plainly appeareth, that in the end God will assuredly plague the Spaniards, having already blinded them, so that they have not the sence to perceive it, but still to remaine in their obstinate opinions: but it is lost labour to strive against God, and to trust in man, as being foundations erected upon the sands, which with the winde are blowne downe and overthrowne, as we daily see before our eyes, and now not long since in many places have evidently observed: and therefore let every man but looke into his owne actions, and take our Low-

Two Ships of treasure taken by the English, and 20. others of the Indian Fleete.

Countries for an example, wherein we can but blame our owne sinnes and wickednesses, which doth so blinde us, that we wholly forget and reject the benefits of God, continuing the servants and yoke-slaves of Sathan. God of his mercy open our eyes and hearts, that wee may know our onely health and Saviour Jesus Christ, who onely can helpe, governe, and preserve us, and give us a happy end in all our affaires. By this destruction of the Spaniards, and their evill successe, the lading and shipping of the goods that were saved out of the ship that came from Malacca to Tercera, was againe put off: and therefore wee must have patience till it please God to send a fitter time, and that we receive further advise and order from his Majestie of Spaine.

All this being thus past, the Farmers of Pepper and other Merchants that had their goods in Tercera, which were taken out of the lost ship that came from Malacca, seeing that the hope of any Armada, or any ships in the Kings behalfe to be sent to fetch it, was all in vaine: they made request unto his Majesty, that he would grant them licence every man particularly to ship his goods in what ship he would at his owne adventure, which in the end, after long suite, was granted, upon condition that every man should put in sureties, to deliver the goods in the Custome-house at Lisbone, to the end the King might be paied his custome, as also that the goods that should be delivered unto them in Tercera, should all be registred: whereupon the Farmers of Pepper, with other Merchants, agreed with a Flushinger, to fetch all the Cloves, Nutmegs, Mace, and other spices and goods that belonged unto them, the Pepper onely excepted, which as then the King would not grant to lade. The same Ship arrived in Tercera about the last of November, and because it was somewhat dangerous, being the latter end of the yeare, we laded her with all the speede we could, for as then the coast was cleare of Englishmen. To be short, this Flushinger being laden with most part of the goods, saving the Pepper that was left behinde, we set saile for [IV. viii. 1681.]

Lisbone, passing some small stormes, not once meeting with any ship, but onely upon the coast where we saw ten Hollanders, that sailed with Corne towards Ligorne, and other places in Italie, and so by Gods helpe upon the
1592. second of January, Anno 1592, we arrived in the River of Lisbone, being nine yeares after my departure from thence, and there I staied till the month of July, to dispatch such things as I had to doe, and upon the seventeenth of the same month, I went to Sentuval, where certaine Hollanders lay, with whom I went for Holland.

THE END OF THE EIGHT BOOKE.

English Plantations,

Discoveries, Acts, and Occurrents, in Virginia and Summer Ilands since the Yeere 1606. Till 1624.

THE NINTH BOOKE.

Chap. I.

Part of the first Patent granted by his Majestie for the Plantation of Virginia, Aprill the tenth 1606.

Ames by the grace of God, &c. Whereas our loving and well disposed Subjects, Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Summers Knights, Richard Hakluyt Clerke, Prebendary of Westminster, Edward Maria Wingfield, Thomas Hannam, Rawleigh Gilbert Esquires, William Parker, George Popham, and divers others of our loving Subjects have beene humble Suitors unto us that we would vouchsafe unto them our License to make Habitation, Plantation, and to deduce a Colonie of sundry of our people into that part of America; commonly called Virginia; and other parts and Territories in America, either appertayning unto us, or which now are not actually possessed by any Christian Prince or people, situate lying and being

all along the Sea Coast betweene thirtie foure degrees of Northerly latitude from the Equinoctiall Line, and fortie five degrees of the same latitude, and in the mayne Land betweene the same thirtie foure and fortie five degrees, and the Ilands thereunto adjacent within one hundred miles of the Coast thereof. And to that end, and for the more speedie accomplishment of the said intended Plantation and Habitation there, are desirous to devide themselves into two severall Colonies and Companies, the one consisting of certaine Knights, Gentlemen, Merchants, and other Adventurers of our Citie of London and elsewhere, which are and from time to time shall be joyned unto them, which doe desire to beginne their Plantations and Habitations, in some fit and convenient place betweene thirtie foure and fortie one degrees of the said latitude, all alongst the Sea Coast of Virginia, and Coast of America aforesaid. And the other consisting of sundry Knights, Gentlemen, Merchants, and other Adventurers of our Cities, of Bristoll and Exeter, and of our Towne of Plymmouth and other places which doe joyne themselves unto that Colonie, which desire to beginne their Plantations and Habitations in some fit and convenient place betweene thirtie eight and fortie five degrees of the said latitude: all alongst the said Coast of Virginia and America, as that Coast lyeth. We greatly commending and graciously accepting of their desires to the furtherance of so Noble a worke, which may by the providence of Almightie God hereafter tend to the glorie of his Divine Majestie, in propagating of Christian Religion, to such people as yet live in darknesse, miserable ignorance of the true knowledge and worship of God, and may in time bring the Infidels and Savages (living in those parts) to humane civilitie and to a settled and quiet government, doe by these our Letters Patents graciously accept of, and agree to their humble and well intended desires, And doe therefore for us our Heires and Successours grant and agree that the [IV. ix. 1684.] said Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Summers, Richard

Hakluyt, and Edward Maria Wingfield, Adventurers of our Citie of London, and all such others as are or shall be joyned unto them of that Colonie shall be called the first Colonie, and they shall and may beginne their said first Plantation and Seate, of their first abode and Habitation at any place upon the said Coast of Virginia or America, where they shall thinke fit and convenient, betweene the said thirtie foure and fortie one degrees of the said latitude. And that they shall have all the Lands, Woods, Soyle, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mynes, Minerals, Marishes, Waters, Fishings, Commodities and Hereditaments whatsoever, from the said first seate of their Plantation, and Habitation by the space of fiftie miles of English Statute measure all alongst the said Coast of Virginia and America, towards the West and South-west as the Coast lyeth, withall the Ilands within one hundred miles directly over against the same Sea Coast: And also all the Lands, Soyle, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mynes, Myneralls, Woods, Marishes, Waters, Fishings, Commodities, and Hereditaments, whatsoever from the said place of their first Plantation and Habitation for the space of fiftie like English miles all alongst the said Coast of Virginia, and America, towards the East and North-east as the Coast lyeth, together with all the Ilands within one hundred miles directly over against the same Sea-coast. And also all the Lands, Woods, Soyle, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mynes, Mynerals, Marishes, Waters, Fishings, Commodities, and Hereditaments, whatsoever from the same, fiftie miles every way on the Sea Coast directly into the mayne Land by the space of one hundred like English miles. And shall and may inhabit and remayne there, and shall and may also build and fortifie within any the same for their better safeguard and defence, according to their best discretions, and the direction of the Councell of that Colonie. And that no other of our Subjects shall be permitted or suffered to plant, or inhabit behind or on the backeside of them towards the mayne Land, with-

The first Colony to bee planted betwixt 34. *&* 41. *degrees of North latitude. They to have all the Lands, &c. for the space of fiftie miles West South-west from the place of their first plantings, and all Mynes, &c. The like East North-east with all Ilands for* 100. *miles in the Sea over against them.* 100. *within the Land, &c. None to inhabit on the backside without their speciall licence in writing, &c.*

out the expresse license or consent of the Councell of that Colonie, thereunto in writing first had or obtained. And we doe likewise for us our Heires and Successors, by these presents, grant and agree that the said Thomas Hanham, Rawleigh Gilbert, William Parker, and George Popham, and all others of the Towne of Plimmouth in the Countie of Devon, or elsewhere, which are or shall be joyned unto them of that Colonie shall be called the second Colonie, and that they shall and may begin their said first Plantation and Seate, of their first aboad and Habitation at any place upon the said Coast of Virginia and America; where they shall thinke fit and convenient betweene thirtie eight and fortie five degrees of the same latitude, and that they shall have all the Lands, Soyle, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mynes, Minerals, Woods, Marishes, Waters, Fishings, Commodities, and Hereditaments, whatsoever from the first Seate of their Plantation and Habitation, by the space of fiftie like English miles, as is aforesaid, all alongst the said Coast of Virginia and America towards the West and South-west, and towards the South as the Coast lieth: And all the Ilands within one hundred miles directly over against the same Sea Coast. And also all the Lands, Soyle, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mynes, Mynerals, Woods, Marishes, Waters, Fishings, Commodities, and Hereditaments whatsoever from the said place of their first Plantation and Habitation for the space of fiftie like English miles all alongst the said Coast of Virginia and America, towards the East and North-east, and towards the North as the Coast lyeth, and all the Ilands within one hundred miles directly over against the same Coast, and also all the Lands, Soyle, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Woods, Mynes, Mynerals, Marishes, Waters, Fishings, Commodities and Hereditaments whatsoever, from the same fiftie miles every way on the Sea Coast directly into the mayne Land, by the space of one hundred like English miles; and shall and may inhabit there, and shall and may also build and fortifie within any the same, for their better

safeguard according to their best discretions, and the direction of the Councell of that Colonie, and that none of our Subjects shall be permitted or suffered to plant or inhabit behind, or on the backe of them towards the mayne Land, without the expresse license or consent of the Councell of that Colonie in writing thereunto first had and obtained. Provided alwayes, &c.

It followeth that neither Colonie shall plant within one hundred miles of each other; also that each Colonie shal have a Councell of thirteene persons to rule and be ruled according to Articles set downe and confirmed under the Privie Seale (which I have, but for brevitie omit, as also the rest of this Patent) the Seales of each Colonie appointed, the digging of Mynes granted in the same, and on the backside of their Colonies within the mayne Land, paying the fift of Gold and Silver, and fifteenth of Copper to the King; libertie to carrie all Subjects (not restrained) which will goe with them. Of coyning for the Colonies use there, of repelling enemies, of staying ships which trade there without leave, were too long to reherse, seeing this Patent hath beene often altered and renewed.

Chap. II.

[IV. ix. 1685.]

Observations gathered out of a Discourse of the Plantation of the Southerne Colonie in Virginia by the English, 1606. Written by that Honorable Gentleman Master George Percy.

ON Saturday the twentieth of December in the yeere 1606. the fleet fell from London, and the fift of January we anchored in the Downes; but the winds continued contrarie so long, that we were forced to stay there some time, where wee suffered great stormes, but by the skilfulnesse of the Captaine wee suffered no great losse or danger.

The next day Cap. Smith was suspected for a supposed Mutinie, though never no such matter.

The twelfth day of February at night we saw a blazing Starre, and presently a storme. The three and twentieth day we fell with the Iland of Mattanenio in the West Indies. The foure and twentieth day we anchored at Dominico, within fourteene degrees of the Line, a very faire Iland, the Trees full of sweet and good smels inhabited by many Savage Indians, they were at first very scrupulous to come aboord us. Wee learned of them afterwards that the Spaniards had given them a great overthrow on this Ile, but when they knew what we were, there came many to our ships with their Canoas, bringing us many kindes of sundry fruites, as Pines, Potatoes, Plantons, Tobacco, and other fruits, and Roane Cloth abundance, which they had gotten out of certaine Spanish ships that were cast away upon that Iland. We gave them Knives, Hatchets for exchange which they esteeme much, wee also gave them Beades, Copper Jewels which they hang through their nosthrils, eares, and lips, very strange to behold, their bodies are all painted red to keepe away the biting of Muscetos, they goe all naked without covering: the haire of their head is a yard long, all of a length pleated in three plats hanging downe to their wastes, they suffer no haire to grow on their faces, they cut their skinnes in divers workes, they are continually in warres, and will eate their enemies when they kill them, or any stranger if they take them. They will lap up mans spittle, whilst one spits in their mouthes in a barbarous fashion like Dogges. These people and the rest of the Ilands in the West Indies, and Brasill, are called by the names of Canibals, that will eate mans flesh, these people doe poyson their Arrow heads, which are made of a fishes bone: they worship the Devill for their God, and have no other beliefe. Whilest we remayned at this Iland we saw a Whale chased by a Thresher and a Sword-fish: they fought for the space of two houres, we might see the Thresher with his flayle lay on the monstrous blowes which was strange to behold: in the end these two fishes brought the Whale to her end.

Trade at Dominica.

Brutishnesse of the Dominicans.

Fight betwixt a Whale, the Thresher and Sword-fish.

The sixe and twentieth day, we had sight of Mari- *Margalanta.*
galanta, and the next day wee sailed with a slacke saile alongst the Ile of Guadalupa, where we went ashore, and *Guadalupa.*
found a Bath which was so hot, that no man was able to *Bath very hot.*
stand long by it, our Admirall Captaine Newport caused a piece of Porke to be put in it: which boyled it so in the space of halfe an houre, as no fire could mend it. Then we went aboord and sailed by many Ilands, as Mounserot and an Iland called Saint Christopher, both unhabited about; about two a clocke in the afternoone wee anchored at the Ile of Mevis. There the Captaine landed all his *Mevis.*
men being well fitted with Muskets and other convenient Armes, marched a mile into the Woods; being commanded to stand upon their guard, fearing the treacherie of the Indians, which is an ordinary use amongst them and all other Savages on this Ile, we came to a Bath *Bath at Mevis.*
standing in a Valley betwixt two Hils; where wee bathed our selves and found it to be of the nature of the Bathes in England, some places hot and some colder: and men may refresh themselves as they please, finding this place to be so convenient for our men to avoid diseases, which will breed in so long a Voyage, wee incamped our selves on this Ile sixe dayes, and spent none of our ships victuall, by reason our men some went a hunting, some a fouling, and some a fishing, where we got great store of Conies, *Commodities there.*
sundry kinds of fowles, and great plentie of fish. We kept Centinels and Courts de gard at every Captaines quarter, fearing wee should be assaulted by the Indians, that were on the other side of the Iland: wee saw none nor were molested by any: but some few we saw as we were a hunting on the Iland. They would not come to us by any meanes, but ranne swiftly through the Woods to the Mountaine tops; so we lost the sight of them: whereupon we made all the haste wee could to our quarter, thinking there had beene a great ambush of Indians there abouts. We past into the thickest of the Woods where we had almost lost our selves, we had not gone above halfe a mile amongst the thicke, but we came into a most

pleasant Garden, being a hundred paces square on every side, having many Cotton-trees growing in it with abundance of Cotton-wooll, and many Guiacum trees: wee saw the goodliest tall trees growing so thicke about the Garden, as though they had beene set by Art, which made us marvell very much to see it.

Aprill. The third day, wee set saile from Mevis: the fourth day we sailed along by Castutia and by Saba: This day we anchored at the Ile of Virgines, in an excellent Bay able to harbour a hundred Ships: if this Bay stood in [IV. ix. 1686.] England, it would be a great profit and commoditie to the Land. On this Iland wee caught great store of Fresh-fish, and abundance of Sea Tortoises, which served all our *Tortoises.* Fleet three daies, which were in number eight score persons. We also killed great store of wilde Fowle, wee cut the Barkes of certaine Trees which tasted much like Cinnamon, and very hot in the mouth. This Iland in some places hath very good ground, straight and tall Timber. But the greatest discommoditie that wee have seene on this Iland is that it hath no Fresh-water, which makes the place void of any Inhabitants.

Upon the sixt day, we set saile and passed by Becam, and by Saint John de Porto Rico. The seventh day, we arrived at Mona: where wee watered, which we stood in *Mevis water unwholesome.* great need of, seeing that our water did smell so vildly that none of our men was able to indure it. Whilst some of the Saylers were a filling the Caskes with water, the Captaine, and the rest of the Gentlemen, and other Soldiers marched up in the Ile sixe myles, thinking to find some other provision to maintaine our victualling; as wee marched we killed two wild Bores, and saw a huge wild Bull, his hornes was an ell betweene the two tops. Wee also killed Guanas, in fashion of a Serpent, and speckled like a Toade under the belly. These wayes that wee went, being so troublesome and vilde going upon the sharpe Rockes, that many of our men fainted in the march, *Ed. Brookes faint with thirst.* but by good fortune wee lost none but one Edward Brookes Gentleman, whose fat melted within him by the

great heate and drought of the Countrey: we were not able to relieve him nor our selves, so he died in that great extreamitie.

The ninth day in the afternoone, we went off with our Boat to the Ile of Moneta, some three leagues from Mona, where we had a terrible landing, and a troublesome getting up to the top of the Mountaine or Ile, being a high firme Rocke step, with many terrible sharpe stones: After wee got to the top of the Ile, we found it to bee a fertill and a plaine ground, full of goodly grasse, and abundance of Fowles of all kindes, they flew over our heads as thicke as drops of Hale; besides they made such a noise, that wee were not able to heare one another speake. Furthermore, wee were not able to set our feet on the ground, but either on Fowles or Egges which lay so thicke in the grasse: Wee laded two Boats full in the space of three houres, to our great refreshing.

Moneta.

Store of fowles.

The tenth day we set saile, and disimboged out of the West Indies, and bare our course Northerly. The fourteenth day we passed the Tropicke of Cancer. The one and twentieth day, about five a clocke at night there began a vehement tempest, which lasted all the night, with winds, raine, and thunders in a terrible manner. Wee were forced to lie at Hull that night, because we thought wee had beene neerer land then wee were. The next morning, being the two and twentieth day wee sounded; and the three and twentieth and foure and twentieth day, but we could find no ground. The five and twentieth day we sounded, and had no ground at an hundred fathom. The six and twentieth day of Aprill, about foure a clocke in the morning, wee descried the Land of Virginia: the same day wee entred into the Bay of Chesupioc directly, without any let or hinderance; there wee landed and discovered a little way, but wee could find nothing worth the speaking of, but faire meddowes and goodly tall Trees, with such Fresh-waters running through the woods, as I was almost ravished at the first sight thereof.

We were driven to try that night, and by the storme were forced neere the shoare, not knowing where we were.

They land in Virginia.

At night, when wee were going aboard, there came the

Savages creeping upon all foure, from the Hills like Beares, with their Bowes in their mouthes, charged us very desperately in the faces, hurt Captaine Gabrill Archer in both his hands, and a sayler in two places of the body very dangerous. After they had spent their Arrowes, and felt the sharpnesse of our shot, they retired into the Woods with a great noise, and so left us.

The seven and twentieth day we began to build up our Shallop: the Gentlemen and Souldiers marched eight miles up into the Land, we could not see a Savage in all that march, we came to a place where they had made a great fire, and had beene newly a rosting Oysters: when they perceived our comming, they fled away to the Mountaines, and left many of the Oysters in the fire: we eat some of the Oysters, which were very large and delicate in taste.

The eighteenth day we lanched our Shallop, the Captaine and some Gentlemen went in her, and discovered up the Bay, we found a River on the Southside running into the Maine; we entered it and found it very shoald water, not for any Boats to swim: Wee went further into the Bay, and saw a plaine plot of ground where we went on Land, and found the place five mile in compasse, without either Bush or Tree, we saw nothing there but a Cannow, which was made out of the whole tree, which was five and fortie foot long by the Rule. Upon this plot of ground we got good store of Mussels and Oysters, which lay on the ground as thicke as stones: wee opened some, and found in many of them Pearles. Wee marched some three or foure miles further into the Woods, where we saw great smoakes of fire. Wee marched to those smoakes and found that the Savages had beene there burning downe the grasse, as wee thought either to make their plantation there, or else to give signes to bring their forces together, and so to give us battell. We past through excellent ground full of Flowers of divers kinds and colours, and as goodly trees as I have seene, as Cedar, Cipresse, and other kindes: going a little further we came

into a little plat of ground full of fine and beautifull Strawberries, foure times bigger and better then ours in England. All this march we could neither see Savage nor Towne. When it grew to be towards night we stood backe to our Ships, we sounded and found it shallow water for a great way, which put us out of all hopes for getting any higher with our Ships, which road at the mouth of the River. Wee rowed over to a point of Land, where wee found a channell, and sounded six, eight, ten, or twelve fathom: which put us in good comfort. Therefore wee named that point of Land, Cape Comfort. *Strawberries.* [IV. ix. 1687.] *Point Comfort.*

The nine and twentieth day we set up a Crosse at Chesupioc Bay, and named that place Cape Henry. Thirtieth day, we came with our ships to Cape Comfort; where wee saw five Savages running on the shoare; presently the Captaine caused the shallop to be manned, so rowing to the shoare, the Captaine called to them in signe of friendship, but they were at first very timersome, until they saw the Captain lay his hand on his heart: upon that they laid down their Bowes and Arrowes, and came very boldly to us, making signes to come a shoare to their Towne, which is called by the Savages Kecoughtan. Wee coasted to their Towne, rowing over a River running into the Maine, where these Savages swam over with their Bowes and Arrowes in their mouthes. *Kecoughtan.*

When we came over to the other side, there was a many of other Savages which directed us to their Towne, where we were entertained by them very kindly. When we came first a Land they made a dolefull noise, laying their faces to the ground, scratching the earth with their nailes. We did thinke that they had beene at their Idolatry. When they had ended their Ceremonies, they went into their houses and brought out mats and laid upon the ground, the chiefest of them sate all in a rank: the meanest sort brought us such dainties as they had, & of their bread which they make of their Maiz or Gennea wheat, they would not suffer us to eat unlesse we sate down, which we did on a Mat right against them. After

Tobacco. we were well satisfied they gave us of their Tabacco, which they tooke in a pipe made artificially of earth as ours are, but far bigger, with the bowle fashioned together with a piece of fine copper. After they had feasted us, they shewed us, in welcome, their manner of dancing, which was in this fashion: one of the Savages standing in the midst singing, beating one hand against another, all the *Singing and Dancing.* rest dancing about him, shouting, howling, and stamping against the ground, with many Anticke tricks and faces, making noise like so many Wolves or Devils. One thing of them I observed; when they were in their dance they kept stroke with their feet just one with another, but with their hands, heads, faces, and bodies, every one of them had a severall gesture: so they continued for the space of halfe an houre. When they had ended their dance, the Captaine gave them Beades and other trifling Jewells. They hang through their eares Fowles legs: they shave the right side of their heads with a shell, the left side they weare of an ell long tied up with an artificiall knot, with a many of Foules feathers sticking in it. They goe altogether naked, but their privities are covered with Beasts skinnes beset commonly with little bones, or beasts teeth: some paint their bodies blacke, some red, with artificiall knots of sundry lively colours, very beautifull and pleasing to the eye, in a braver fashion then they in the West Indies.

The fourth day of May, we came to the King of Werowance of Paspihe: where they entertained us with *A long oration.* much welcome; an old Savage made a long Oration, making a foule noise, uttering his speech with a vehement action, but we knew little what they meant. Whilst we were in company with the Paspihes, the Werowance of Rapahanna came from the other side of the River in his Cannoa: he seemed to take displeasure of our being with the Paspihes: he would faine have had us come to his Towne, the Captaine was unwilling; seeing that the day was so far spent he returned backe to his ships for that night.

The next day, being the fift of May, the Werowance of Rapahanna sent a Messenger to have us come to him. We entertained the said Messenger, and gave him trifles which pleased him: Wee manned our shallop with Muskets and Targatiers sufficiently: this said Messenger guided us where our determination was to goe. When wee landed, the Werowance of Rapahanna came downe to the water side with all his traine, as goodly men as any I have seene of Savages or Christians: the Werowance comming before them playing on a Flute made of a Reed, with a Crown of Deares haire colloured red, in fashion of a Rose fastened about his knot of haire, and a great Plate of Copper on the other side of his head, with two long Feathers in fashion of a paire of Hornes placed in the midst of his Crowne. His body was painted all with Crimson, with a Chaine of Beads about his necke, his face painted blew, besprinkled with silver Ore as wee thought, his eares all behung with Braslets of Pearle, and in either eare a Birds Claw through it beset with fine Copper or Gold, he entertained us in so modest a proud fashion, as though he had beene a Prince of civill government, holding his countenance without laughter or any such ill behaviour; he caused his Mat to be spred on the ground, where hee sate downe with a great Majestie, taking a pipe of Tabacco: the rest of his company standing about him. After he had rested a while he rose, and made signes to us to come to his Towne: Hee went formost, and all the rest of his people and our selves followed him up a steepe Hill where his Palace was settled. Wee passed through the Woods in fine paths, having most pleasant Springs which issued from the Mountaines: Wee also went through the goodliest Corne fieldes that ever was seene in any Countrey. When wee came to Rapahannos Towne, hee entertained us in good humanitie.

A Flute made of a Reed.

[IV. ix. 1688.]

The eight day of May we discovered up the River. We landed in the Countrey of Apamatica, at our landing, there came many stout and able Savages to resist us with

their Bowes and Arrowes, in a most warlike manner, with the swords at their backes beset with sharpe stones, and pieces of yron able to cleave a man in sunder. Amongst the rest one of the chiefest standing before them crosse-legged, with his Arrow readie in his Bow in one hand, and taking a Pipe of Tobacco in the other, with a bold uttering of his speech, demanded of us our being there, willing us to bee gone. Wee made signes of peace, which they perceived in the end, and let us land in quietnesse.

Archers Hope. The twelfth day we went backe to our ships, and discovered a point of Land, called Archers Hope, which was sufficient with a little labour to defend our selves against any Enemy. The soile was good and fruitfull, with excellent good Timber. There are also great store of Vines in bignesse of a mans thigh, running up to the tops of the Trees in great abundance. We also did see many Squirels, Conies, Black Birds with crimson wings, and divers other Fowles and Birds of divers and sundrie collours of crimson, Watchet, Yellow, Greene, Murry, and of divers other hewes naturally without any art using.

We found store of Turkie nests and many Egges, if it had not beene disliked, because the ship could not ride neere the shoare, we had setled there to all the Collonies contentment.

The thirteenth day, we came to our seating place in Paspihas Countrey, some eight miles from the point of Land, which I made mention before: where our shippes doe lie so neere the shoare that they are moored to the Trees in six fathom water.

Their Plantation at James Towne. The fourteenth day we landed all our men which were set to worke about the fortification, and others some to watch and ward as it was convenient. The first night of our landing, about midnight, there came some Savages sayling close to our quarter: presently there was an alarum given; upon that the Savages ran away, and we not troubled any more by them that night. Not long after there came two Savages that seemed to be Commanders, bravely drest, with Crownes of coloured haire

upon their heads, which came as Messengers from the Werowance of Paspihæ; telling us that their Werowance was comming and would be merry with us with a fat Deare.

The eighteenth day, the Werowance of Paspihæ came himselfe to our quarter, with one hundred Savages armed, which garded him in a very warlike manner with Bowes and Arrowes, thinking at that time to execute their villany. Paspihæ made great signes to us to lay our Armes away. But we would not trust him so far: he seeing he could not have convenient time to worke his will, at length made signes that he would give us as much land as we would desire to take. As the Savages were in a throng in the Fort, one of them stole a Hatchet from one of our company, which spied him doing the deed: whereupon he tooke it from him by force, and also strooke him over the arme: presently another Savage seeing that, came fiercely at our man with a wooden sword, thinking to beat out his braines. The Werowance of Paspiha saw us take to our Armes, went suddenly away with all his company in great anger.

Land given.

These Savages are naturally great theeves.

The nineteenth day, my selfe and three or foure more walking into the Woods by chance wee espied a path-way like to an Irish pace: wee were desirous to knowe whither it would bring us; wee traced along some foure miles, all the way as wee went, having the pleasantest Suckles, the ground all flowing over with faire flowers of sundry colours and kindes, as though it had beene in any Garden or Orchard in England. There be many Strawberries, and other fruits unknowne: wee saw the Woods full of Cedar and Cypresse trees, with other trees, which issues out sweet Gummes like to Balsam: wee kept on our way in this Paradise, at length wee came to a Savage Towne, where wee found but few people, they told us the rest were gone a hunting with the Werowance of Paspiha: we stayed there a while, and had of them Strawberries, and other things; in the meane time one of the Savages came running out of his house with a Bowe and Arrowes and

ranne mainly through the Woods: then I beganne to mistrust some villanie, that he went to call some companie, and so betray us, wee made all the haste away wee could: one of the Savages brought us on the way to the Wood side, where there was a Garden of Tobacco, and other fruits and herbes, he gathered Tobacco, and distributed to every one of us, so wee departed.

The twentieth day the Werowance of Paspiha sent fortie of his men with a Deere, to our quarter: but they came more in villanie than any love they bare us: they faine would have layne in our Fort all night, but wee would not suffer them for feare of their treachery. One of our Gentlemen having a Target which hee trusted in, thinking it would beare out a slight shot, hee set it up against a tree, willing one of the Savages to shoot; who tooke from his backe an Arrow of an elle long, drew it strongly in his Bowe, shoots the Target a foote thorow, or better: which was strange, being that a Pistoll could not pierce it. Wee seeing the force of his Bowe, afterwards set him up a steele Target; he shot again, and burst his arrow all to pieces, he presently pulled out another Arrow, and bit it in his teeth, and seemed to bee in a great rage, so hee went away in great anger. Their Bowes are made of tough Hasell, their strings of Leather, their Arrowes of Canes or Hasell, headed with very sharpe stones, and are made artificially like a broad Arrow: other some of their Arrowes are headed with the ends of Deeres hornes, and are feathered very artificially. Pasphia was as good as his word; for hee sent Venison, but the Sawse came within few dayes after.

Their arrowes. [IV. ix. 1689.]

At Port Cotage in our Voyage up the River, we saw a Savage Boy about the age of ten yeeres, which had a head of haire of a perfect yellow and a reasonable white skinne, which is a Miracle amongst all Savages.

Yellow haired Virginian.

This River which wee have discovered is one of the famousest Rivers that ever was found by any Christian, it ebbes and flowes a hundred and threescore miles where ships of great burthen may harbour in safetie. Where-

River of Pohatan.

soever we landed upon this River, wee saw the goodliest Woods as Beech, Oke, Cedar, Cypresse, Wal-nuts, Sassafras and Vines in great abundance, which hang in great clusters on many Trees, and other Trees unknowne, and all the grounds bespred with many sweet and delicate flowres of divers colours and kindes. There are also many fruites as Strawberries, Mulberries, Rasberries and Fruits unknowne, there are many branches of this River, which runne flowing through the Woods with great plentie of fish of all kindes, as for Sturgeon all the World cannot be compared to it. In this Countrey I have seene many great and large Medowes * having excellent good pasture for any Cattle. There is also great store of Deere both Red and Fallow. There are Beares, Foxes, Otters, Bevers, Muskats, and wild beasts unknowne.

*Low Marshes.

The foure and twentieth day wee set up a Crosse at the head of this River, naming it Kings River, where we proclaimed James King of England to have the most right unto it. When wee had finished and set up our Crosse, we shipt our men and made for James Fort. By the way wee came to Pohatans Towre where the Captaine went on shore suffering none to goe with him, hee presented the Commander of this place with a Hatchet which hee tooke joyfully, and was well pleased.

Wee came downe the River.

But yet the Savages murmured at our planting in the Countrie, whereupon this Werowance made answere againe very wisely of a Savage, Why should you bee offended with them as long as they hurt you not, nor take any thing away by force, they take but a litle waste ground, which doth you nor any of us any good.

I saw Bread made by their women which doe all their drugerie. The men takes their pleasure in hunting and their warres, which they are in continually one Kingdome against another. The manner of baking of bread is thus, after they pound their wheat into flowre with hote water, they make it into paste, and worke it into round balls and Cakes, then they put it into a pot of seething water,

Bread how made.

when it is sod throughly, they lay it on a smooth stone, there they harden it as well as in an Oven.

Distinct habit of Maids and Wives.

There is notice to be taken to know married women from Maids, the Maids you shall alwayes see the fore part of their head and sides shaven close, the hinder part very long, which they tie in a pleate hanging downe to their hips. The married women weares their haire all of a length, and is tied of that fashion that the Maids are. The women kinde in this Countrey doth pounce and race their bodies, legges, thighes, armes and faces with a sharpe Iron, which makes a stampe in curious knots, and drawes the proportion of Fowles, Fish, or Beasts, then with paintings of sundry lively colours, they rub it into the stampe which will never be taken away, because it is dried into the flesh where it is sered.

Savage 160. *yeeres old.*

The Savages beare their yeeres well, for when wee were at Pamonkies, wee saw a Savage by their report was above eight score yeeres of age. His eyes were sunke into his head, having never a tooth in his mouth, his haire all gray with a reasonable bigge beard, which was as white as any snow. It is a Miracle to see a Savage have any haire on their faces, I never saw, read, nor heard, any have the like before. This Savage was as lustie and went as fast as any of us, which was strange to behold.

Bearded.

The fifteenth day of June, we had built and finished our Fort which was triangle wise, having three Bulwarkes at every corner like a halfe Moone, and foure or five pieces of Artillerie mounted in them we had made our selves sufficiently strong for these Savages, we had also sowne most of our Corne on two Mountaines, it sprang a mans height from the ground, this Countrey is a fruitfull soile, bearing many goodly and fruitfull Trees, as Mulberries, Cherries, Walnuts, Ceders, Cypresse, Sassafras, and Vines in great abundance.

Cap. Newports departure.

Munday the two and twentieth of June, in the morning Captaine Newport in the Admirall departed from James Port for England.

Captaine Newport being gone for England, leaving us

(one hundred and foure persons) verie bare and scantie of victualls, furthermore in warres and in danger of the Savages. We hoped after a supply which Captaine Newport promised within twentie weekes. But if the beginners of this action doe carefully further us, the Country being so fruitfull, it would be as great a profit to the Realme of England, as the Indies to the King of Spaine, if this River which wee have found had beene discovered in the time of warre with Spaine, it would have beene a commoditie to our Realme, and a great annoyance to our enemies. The seven and twentieth of July the King of Rapahanna, demanded a Canoa which was restored, lifted up his hand to the Sunne, which they worship as their God, besides he laid his hand on his heart, [IV. ix. 1690.] that he would be our speciall friend. It is a generall rule of these people when they swere by their God which is the Sunne, no Christian will keepe their Oath better upon this promise. These people have a great reverence to the Sunne above all other things at the rising and setting of the same, they sit downe lifting up their hands and eyes to the Sunne making a round Circle on the ground with dried Tobacco, then they began to pray making many Devillish gestures with a Hellish noise foming at the mouth, staring with their eyes, wagging their heads and hands in such a fashion and deformitie as it was monstrous to behold.

The Savages use to sacrifice to the Sunne.

The sixt of August there died John Asbie of the bloudie Fluxe. The ninth day died George Flowre of the swelling. The tenth day died William Bruster Gentleman, of a wound given by the Savages, and was buried the eleventh day.

The fourteenth day, Jerome Alikock Ancient, died of a wound, the same day Francis Midwinter, Edward Moris Corporall died suddenly.

The fifteenth day, there died Edward Browne and Stephen Galthrope. The sixteenth day, there died Thomas Gower Gentleman. The seventeenth day, there died Thomas Mounslic. The eighteenth day, there died

Robert Pennington, and John Martine Gentleman. The nineteenth day, died Drue Piggase Gentleman. The two and twentieth day of August, there died Captaine Bartholomew Gosnold one of our Councell, he was honourably buried, having all the Ordnance in the Fort shot off with many vollies of small shot.

Death of Cap. Bart. Gosnold.

After Captaine Gosnols death, the Councell could hardly agree by the dissention of Captaine Kendall, which afterward was committed about hainous matters which was proved against him.

The foure and twentieth day, died Edward Harington and George Walker, and were buried the same day. The sixe and twentieth day, died Kenelme Throgmortine. The seven and twentieth day died William Roods. The eight and twentieth day died Thomas Stoodie, Cape Merchant.

The fourth day of September died Thomas Jacob Sergeant. The fift day, there died Benjamin Beast. Our men were destroyed with cruell diseases as Swellings, Fluxes, Burning Fevers, and by warres, and some departed suddenly, but for the most part they died of meere famine. There were never Englishmen left in a forreigne Countrey in such miserie as wee were in this new discovered Virginia. Wee watched every three nights lying on the bare cold ground what weather soever came warded all the next day, which brought our men to bee most feeble wretches, our food was but a small Can of Barlie sod in water to five men a day, our drinke cold water taken out of the River, which was at a floud verie salt, at a low tide full of slime and filth, which was the destruction of many of our men. Thus we lived for the space of five moneths in this miserable distresse, not having five able men to man our Bulwarkes upon any occasion. If it had not pleased God to have put a terrour in the Savages hearts, we had all perished by those vild and cruell Pagans, being in that weake estate as we were; our men night and day groaning in every corner of the Fort most pittifull to heare, if there were any conscience in men, it would make their harts to bleed to heare the pittiful murmurings &

Miserable famine.

out-cries of our sick men without reliefe every night and day for the space of sixe weekes, some departing out of the World, many times three or foure in a night, in the morning their bodies trailed out of their Cabines like Dogges to be buried: in this sort did I see the mortalitie of divers of our people.

Gods goodnesse.

It pleased God, after a while, to send those people which were our mortall enemies to releeve us with victuals, as Bread, Corne, Fish, and Flesh in great plentie, which was the setting up of our feeble men, otherwise wee had all perished. Also we were frequented by divers Kings in the Countrie, bringing us store of provision to our great comfort.

The eleventh day, there was certaine Articles laid against Master Wingfield which was then President, thereupon he was not only displaced out of his President ship, but also from being of the Councell. Afterwards Captaine John Ratcliffe was chosen President.

The eighteenth day, died one Ellis Kinistone which was starved to death with cold. The same day at night, died one Richard Simmons. The nineteenth day, there died one Thomas Mouton.

He was a made man.

William White (having lived with the Natives) reported to us of their customes in the morning by breake of day, before they eate or drinke both men, women and children, that be above tenne yeeres of age runnes into the water, there washes themselves a good while till the Sunne riseth, then offer Sacrifice to it, strewing Tobacco on the water or Land, honouring the Sunne as their God, likewise they doe at the setting of the * Sunne.

**The rest is omitted, being more fully set downe in Cap. Smiths Relations.*

[IV. ix. 1691.]

Chap. III.

The description of Virginia by Captaine John Smith, inlarged out of his written Notes.

*The Latitude. *By later Patents this is extended further to the 30. degrees, &c.*

Irginia is a Countrie in America, that lieth betweene the degrees of 34.* and 44. of the North Latitude. The bounds thereof on the East side are the great Ocean. On the South lieth Florida: on the North Nova Francia. As for the West thereof, the limits are unknowne. Of all this Countrie we purpose not to speake, but only of that part which was planted by the Englishmen in the yeere of our Lord, 1606. And this is under the degrees 37. 38. and 39. The temperature of this Countrie doth agree wel with English constitutions being once seasoned to the Countrie. Which appeared by this, that though by many occasions our people fell sicke: yet did they recover by verie small meanes and continued in health, though there were other great causes, not only to have made them sicke, but even to end their dayes, &c.

The temperature.

The Summer is hot as in Spaine; the Winter cold as in France or England. The heate of Summer is in June, July, and August, but commonly the coole Breeses asswage the vehemencie of the heate. The chiefe of Winter is halfe December, January, February, and halfe March. The cold is extreme sharpe, but heere the Proverbe is true, That no extreme continueth long. In the yeere 1607. was an extraordinary Frost in most of Europe, and this Frost was found as extreme in Virginia. But the next yeere for eight or ten daies of ill weather, other fourteene daies would be as Summer.

The winds.

The winds here are variable, but the like Thunder and Lightning to purifie the Aire, I have seldome either seene or heard in Europe. From the South-west came the greatest gusts with Thunder and heate. The North-west winde is commonly coole, and bringeth faire weather with

it. From the North is the greatest cold, and from the East and South-east as from the Barmadas, fogges and raines.

Sometimes there are great droughts other times much raine, yet great necessitie of neither, by reason we see not, but that all the varietie of needfull Fruits in Europe may bee there in great plentie by the industry of men, as appeareth by those we there planted.

The entrances. There is but one entrance by Sea into this Countrey, and that is at the mouth of a verie goodly Bay, the widenesse whereof is neere eighteene or twentie miles. *Cape Henry.* The Cape on the South side is called Cape Henrie, in honour of our most Noble Prince. The shew of the Land there is a white Hilly Sand like unto the Downes, and along the shoares great plentie of Pines and Firres.

Cape Charles. The North Cape, is called Cape Charles, in honour of the worthy Duke of Yorke. The Iles before it are named *Cap. Smith.* Smiths Iles, because he first of ours set foot on them. Within is a Countrey that may have the prerogative over the most pleasant places of Europe, Asia, Africa, or America, for large and pleasant navigable Rivers, Heaven and Earth never agreed better to frame a place for mans habitation being of our constitution, were it fully mannured and inhabited by industrious people. Here are Mountaynes, Hils, Plaines, Vallies, Rivers and *The Country.* Brookes, all running most pleasantly into a faire Bay compassed but for the mouth with fruitful & delightsome Land. In the Bay and Rivers are many Iles both great and small, some woodie, some plaine, most of them low and not inhabited. This Bay lieth North and South, in *The Bay.* which the water floweth neere two hundred miles, and hath a Channell for one hundred and fortie miles, of depth betwixt seven and fifteene fadome, holding in breadth for the most part ten or fourteene miles. From the head of the Bay at the North, the Land is mountainous, and so in a manner from thence by a South-west Line; So that the more Southward, the farther off from

the Bay are those Mountaines. From which fall certaine Brookes which after come to five principall Navigable Rivers. These runne from the North-west into the South-east, and so into the West side of the Bay, where the fall of every River is within twentie or fifteene miles one of another.

The Mountaines. The Mountaines are of divers natures, for at the head of the Bay the Rockes are of a composition like Mil-stones. Some of Marble, &c. And many pieces of Christall we found as throwne downe by water from the Mountaines. For in Winter these Mountaines are covered with much Snow, and when it dissolveth the waters fall with such violence, that it causeth great inundations in the narrow Vallies, which yet is scarce perceived being once in the Rivers. These waters wash from the Rockes such glistering tinctures that the ground in some places seemeth as gilded, where both the Rockes and the Earth are so splendent to behold, that better judgements then ours might have beene perswaded, they contained more then probabilities. The vesture of the Earth in most places doth manifestly prove the nature *The soile.* of the soile to be lustie and very rich. The colour of the Earth we found in divers places, resembleth Bole Armoniac, terra sigillata and lemnia, Fullers Earth, Marle, and divers other such appearances. But generally for the most part the Earth is a blacke sandie mould, in some places a fat slimie clay, in other places a very barren [IV. ix. 1692.] gravell. But the best ground is knowne by the vesture it beareth, as by the greatnesse of Trees or abundance of Weeds, &c.

The Vallies. The Countrie is not mountainous nor yet low, but such pleasant plaine Hils and fertile Vallies, one pretily crossing another, and watered so conveniently with their sweete Brookes and Christall Springs, as if Art it selfe had devised them. By the Rivers are many plaine Marishes contayning some twentie, some one hundred, some two hundred Acres, some more, some lesse. Other *Plaines.* Plaines there are few, but only where the Savages inhabit:

but all over-growne with Trees and Weeds, being a plaine Wildernesse as God first made it.

On the West side of the Bay, we said were five faire and delightfull navigable Rivers, of which we will now proceed to report. The first of those Rivers and the next to the mouth of the Bay hath his course from the West and by North. The name of this River they call Powhatan according to the name of a principall Countrie that lieth upon it. The mouth of this River is neere three miles in breadth, yet doe the shoales force the Channell so neere the Land that a Sacre will over-shoot it at Point blanke. This River is navigable one hundred and fiftie miles as the Channell goeth; the shoales and soundings are heere needlesse to be expressed. It falleth from Rockes farre West in a Countrie inhabited by a Nation that they call Monacan. But where it commeth into our Discoverie it is Powhatan. In the farthest place that was diligently observed, are Falles, Rockes, Shoales, &c. which makes it past navigation any higher. Thence in the running downeward, the River is enriched with many goodly Brookes, which are maintained by an infinite number of small Rundles and pleasant Springs that disperse themselves for best service, as doe the veines of a mans bodie. From the South there fals into this River; First; the pleasant River of Apamatuck: next more to the East are the two Rivers of Quiyoughcohanocke. A little farther is a Bay wherein falleth three or foure pretie Brookes and Creekes that halfe intrench the Inhabitants of Warraskoyac: then the River of Nandsamund, and lastly, the Brooke of Chisaptack. From the North side is the River of Chickahamania, the backe River of James Townes; another by the Cedar Ile, where we lived ten weekes upon Oisters, then a convenient Harbour for fisher-boats or small Boats at Kecoughtan, that so conveniently turneth it selfe into Bayes and Creekes that make that place very pleasant to inhabit, their Corne fields being girded therein in a manner as Peninsulaes. The most of these Rivers are

The River Powhatan.

Fals.

The branches.

inhabited by severall Nations, or rather Families, of the name of the Rivers. They have also in every of those places some Governour, as their King, which they call Werowances. In a Peninsula on the North side of this River are the English planted in a place by them called *James Towne.* James Towne, in honour of the Kings most excellent Majestie, upon which side are also many places under the Werowances.

The severall Inhabitants. The first and next the Rivers mouth are the Cecoughtans, who besides their women and children, have not past twentie fighting men. The Paspaheges on whose Land is seated the English Colonie, some fortie miles from the Bay have not past fortie. The River called Chickahamania neere two hundred. The Weanocks one hundred. The Arrowhatocks thirtie. The place called Powhatan, some fortie. On the South side this River the Appamatucks have sixtie fighting men. The Quiyougcohanocks, five and twentie. The Warraskoyacks fortie. The Nandsamunds two hundred. The Chesapeacks are able to make one hundred. Of this last place the Bay beareth the name. In all these places *Free State.* is a severall Commander, which they call Werowance except the Chickhamanians, who are governed by the Priests and their Assistants of their Elders called Cawcawwassoughes. In Summer no place affoordeth more plentie of Sturgeon, nor in Winter more abundance of Fowle, especially in the time of Frost. There was once taken fiftie two Sturgeons at a draught, at another draught sixtie eight. From the latter end of May till the end of June are taken but young Sturgeons of two foot or a yard long: From thence till the midst of September, of two or three yards long and few others. And in foure or five houres with one Net were ordinarily taken seven or eight: often more, seldome lesse. In the small Rivers all the yeere there is good plentie of small fish, so that with Hookes those that would take paines had sufficient.

R. Pamaunkc. Fourteene miles Northward from the River Powhatan;

is the River Pamaunke, which is navigable sixtie miles, but with Catches and small Barkes, twentie or thirtie miles farther. At the ordinary flowing of salt water, it divideth it selfe into two gallant branches. On the South inhabit the people of Youghtanund, who have about sixtie men for warres. On the North branch Mattapament, who have thirtie men. Where this River is divided, the Countrie is called Panamaunke, and nourisheth neere three hundred able men. About five and twentie miles lower on the North side of this River is Werawocomoco, where their great King inhabited when Captaine Smith was delivered him prisoner; yet there are not past fortie able men. But now he hath abandoned that, and liveth at Orapakes by Youghtanund in the Wildernesse; tenne or twelve miles lower; on the South side of this River is Chiskiack, which hath some fortie or fiftie men. These, as also Apamatuck Irrohatocke, and Powhatan, are their great Kings chiefe Alliance and Inhabitance. The rest (as they report) his Conquests.

The Inhabitants.

K. Pohatan.

Before we come to the third River that falleth from the Mountaines, there is another River (some thirtie miles navigable) that commeth from the In-land, the River is called Payankatanke, the Inhabitants are about some fortie serviceable men.

Payankatank R.

The third navigable River is called Toppahanock. (This is navigable some one hundred and thirtie miles.) At the top of it inhabit the people called Mannahoackes amongst the Mountaines, but they are above the place we describe. Upon this River on the North side are seated a people called Cuttatowomen, with thirtie fighting men. Higher on the River are the Moraughtacunds, with eightie able men. Beyond them Toppahanocke with one hundred men. Farre above is another Cuttatawomen with twentie men. On the South, farre within the River is Nautaughtacund having one hundred and fiftie men. This River also as the two former, is replenished with fish and fowle.

[IV. ix. 1693.]

Toppahanock R.

The Inhabitants.

The fourth River is called Patawomeke, and is sixe

Patawomeke R.

or seven miles in breadth. It is navigable one hundred and fortie miles, and fed as the rest with many sweet Rivers and Springs, which fall from the bordering Hils. These Hils many of them are planted, and yeeld no lesse plentie and varietie of fruit then the River exceedeth with abundance of fish. This River is inhabited on both sides. First on the South side at the very entrance is Wighcocomoco, and hath some one hundred and thirtie men, beyond them Sekacawone with thirtie. The Onawmanient with one hundred. Then Patawomeke with one hundred and sixtie able men. Here doth the River divide it selfe in to three or foure convenient Rivers; The greatest of the least is called Quiyough, trendeth North-west, but the River it selfe turneth North-east, and is still a navigable streame. On the Westerne side of this bought is Tauxenent, with fortie men. On the North of this River is Secowocomoco with fortie men. Some what further Potapaco with twentie. In the East part of the bought of the River, is Pamacacack with sixtie men; After Moyowances with one hundred. And lastly, Nacotchtanke with eightie able men. The River tenne miles above this place maketh his passage downe a low pleasant Vally over-shadowed in many places with high Rockie Mountaines; from whence distill innumerable sweet and pleasant Springs.

Pawtuxunt R. The fift River is called Pawtuxunt, and is of a lesse proportion then the rest; but the channell is sixteene or eighteene fadome deepe in some places. Here are infinite skuls of divers kinds of fish more then elsewhere. Upon this River dwell the people called Acquintanack-suak, Pawtuxunt and Mattapanient. Two hundred men was the greatest strength that could be there perceived. But they inhabit together, and not so dispersed as the rest. These of all other were found the most civill to give entertainment.

Bolus R. *The head of the Bay.* Thirtie leagues Northward is a River not inhabited, yet navigable; for the red Earth or Clay resembling Bole Armoniack, the English called it Bolus. At the end of

the Bay where it is sixe or seven miles in breadth, there fall into it foure small Rivers, three of them issuing from divers bogges invironed with high Mountaines. There is one that commeth due North three or foure dayes journey from the head of the Bay, and fals from Rockes and Mountaines, upon this River inhabit a people called Sasquesahanocke. They are seated two dayes higher then was passage for the Discoverers Barge, which was hardly two tunnes, and had in it but twelve men to performe this Discovery, wherein they lay above the space of twelve weekes upon those great waters in those unknowne Countries, having nothing but a little Meale or Oat-meale and water to feed them; and scarce halfe sufficient of that for halfe that time, but that by the Savages, and by the plenty of fish they found in all places, they made themselves provision as opportunity served; yet had they not a Mariner or any that had skill to trimme their Sayles, use their Oares, or any businesse belonging to the Barge, but two or three. The rest being Gentlemen, or as ignorant in such toyle and labour, yet necessitie in a short time by their Captaines diligence and example, taught them to become so perfect, that what they did by such small meanes, I leave to the censure of the Reader to judge by this Discourse and the annexed Map. But to proceed, sixtie of those Sasquesahanocks, came to the Discoverers with Skinnes, Bowes, Arrowes, Targets, Beades, Swords and Tobacco-pipes for Presents. Such great and well proportioned men, are seldome seene, for they seemed like Giants to the English, yea, and to the Neighbours, yet seemed of an honest and simple disposition, with much adoe restrained from adoring the Discoverers as Gods. Those are the most strange people of all those Countries, both in Language and Attire; for their Language it may well beseeme their proportions, sounding from them, as it were a great voyce in a Vault, or Cave, as an Eccho. Their Attire is the Skinnes of Beares, and Woolves, some have Cassacks made of Beares heads and Skinnes that a mans necke goes through the

Sasquesahanock.

Giantly people.

The description of a Sasquesahanough. See the Map.

Skinnes necke, and the Eares of the Beare fastned to his shoulders behind, the Nose and Teeth hanging downe his breast, and at the end of the Nose hung a Beares Pawe, the halfe sleeves comming to the elbowes were the neckes of the Beares and the armes through the mouth with pawes hanging at their Noses. One had the head of a Woolfe hanging in a Chaine for a Jewell his Tobacco-pipe three quarters of a yard long, prettily carved with a Bird, a Beare, a Deere, or some such device at the great end, sufficient to beate out the braines of a man, with Bowes, and Arrowes, and Clubs sutable to their greatnesse and conditions. These are scarce knowne to Powhatan. They can make neere sixe hundred able and mightie men, and are pallisadoed in their Townes to defend them from the Massawomekes their mortall enemies. Five of their chiefe Werowances came aboord the Discoverers, and crossed the Bay in their Barge.

Long Spoone to eate with the Devill.

[IV. ix. 1694.] The Picture of the greatest of them is signified in the Mappe. The calfe of whose legge was three quarters of a yard about, and all the rest of his limbes so answerable to that proportion, that hee seemed the goodliest man that ever wee beheld. His haire, the one side was long, the other shorne close with a ridge over his crowne like a Cockes Combe. His Arrowes were five quarters long, headed with flints or spinters of stones, in forme like a Heart, an inch broad, and an inch and a halfe or more long. These hee wore in a Woolves Skinne at his backe for his Quiver, his Bow in the one hand and his Clubbe in the other, as is described.

Tockwogh R. On the East side the Bay, is the River of Tockwhogh, and upon it a people that can make one hundred men, seated some seven miles within the River: where they have a Fort very well pallisadoed and mantelled with the Barke of Trees. Next to them is Ozinies with sixtie men. More to the South of that East side of the Bay, the River of Rapahanock, neere unto which is the River of Ruskarawaock. Upon which is seated a people with two hundred men. After that is the River of Tants

Rapahanock R.

Ruskara-waock R.

Wighcocomoco, and on it a people with one hundred men. The people of those Rivers are of little stature, of another Language from the rest, and very rude. But they on the River of Acohanock with fortie men, and they of Accomack eighty men do equalize any of the Territories of Powhatan and speake his Language, who over all those doth rule as King. *Wighcocomoco R.* *Accomack R.*

Southward they went to some parts of Chawonock and the Mangoags to search for the men there left by Sir Walter Raleigh; for those parts to the Towne of Chisapeack have formerly beene discovered by Master Hariots and Sir Ralph Lane. Amongst those people are thus many severall Nations of sundry Languages, that environ Powhatans Territories. The Chawonockes, the Mangoags, the Monacans, the Mannahokes, the Masawomekes, the Powhatans, the Sasquesahanocks, the Atquanachukes, the Tockwoghes, and the Kuscarawaokes. Of all those not any one understandeth another but by Interpreters. Their severall Habitations are more plainly described by this annexed Mappe, which will present to the eye, the way of the Mountaines and current of the Rivers, with their severall Turnings, Bayes, Shoales, Iles, Inlets, and Creekes, the breadth of the waters, the distances of places and such like. In which Map observe this, that as farre as you see the little Crosses on Rivers, Mountaines, or other places have beene discovered; the rest was had by information of the Savages, and are set downe, according to their instructions. *Chawonock.* *The severall Languages.*

Of such things which are naturall in Virginia, and how they use them.

Virginia doth affoord many excellent vegitables and living creatures, yet grasse there is little or none, but what groweth in low Marishes: for all the Countrey is overgrowne with Trees, whose droppings continually turne their grasse to weedes, by reason of the ranknesse of the ground which would soone be amended by good husbandry. The wood that is most common is Oke and *Why there is little grasse.* *Woods with their fruits.*

Walnut; many of their Okes are so tall and straight, that they will beare two foote and a halfe square of good Timber for twenty yards long; Of this wood there is two or three severall kinds. The Acornes of one kind, whose barke is more white then the other, are somewhat sweetish, which being boyled halfe a day in severall waters, at last affoord a sweete Oyle, which they keep in Goards to annoint their heads & joynts. The fruit they eate made in bread or otherwise. There is also

Elme. some Elme, some blacke Wal-nut tree, and some Ash: of Ash and Elme they make Sope-ashes. If the trees be very great, the ashes will be good, and melt to hard lumps, but if they be small, it will be but powder, and

Walnuts. not so good as the other. Of Walnuts there is two or

Supposed Cypresse. three kinds; there is a kind of wood we called Cypresse, because both the wood, the fruit, and leafe did most resemble it, and of those trees there are some neere three fadome about the Roote very straight, and fifty, sixty, or eighty foot without a branch. By the dwelling of the

Mulberies. Savages are some great Mulberie trees, and in some parts of the Countrey, they are found growing naturally in pretie Groves. There was an assay made to make silke, and surely the Wormes prospered excellent well, till the Master workman fel sick. During which time they were eaten with Rats.

Chesnuts. In some parts were found some Chesnuts whose wild fruit equalize the best in France, Spaine, Germany, or Italy, to their tasts that had tasted them all. Plummes there are of three sorts. The red and white are like our

Plummes. hedge Plummes, but the other which they call Putchamins, grow as high as Palmeta: the fruit is like a Medler; it is first greene then yellow, and red when it is ripe; if it be not ripe it will draw a mans mouth awrie, with much torment, but when it is ripe, it is as delicious as an Apricock.

Cheries. They have Cherries, and those are much like a Damson, but for their tastes and colour we called them Cherries.

Crabs. Wee saw some few Crabbes, but very small and bitter.

Of Vines great abundance in many parts climbe the tops of the highest trees in some places; but these beare but few Grapes. But by the Rivers and Savage habitations where they are not overshadowed from the Sunne, they are covered with fruit, though never pruned nor manured. Of those hedge Grapes wee made neere twenty gallons of Wine, which was neere as good as your French Brittish Wine: but certainly they would prove good, were they well manured. There is another sort of Grape, neere as great as a Cherrie, this they call Messaminnes, they be fat, and the juyce thicke. Neither doth the taste so well please when they are made in Wine. They have a small fruit growing on little trees, husked like a Chesnut, but the fruit most like a very small Acorne: this they call Chechinquamins, which they esteeme a great daintie. They have a berrie much like our Gooseberrie, in greatnesse, colour, and taste; those they call Rawcomenes, and doe eate them raw or boyled. Of these naturall fruits they live a great part of the yeere, which they use in this manner. The Walnuts, Chestnuts, Acornes, and Chechinquamins, are dried to keepe. When they need them they breake them betweene two stones, yet some part of the Walnut shels will cleave to the fruit. Then doe they drie them againe upon a Mat over a Hurdle. After they put it in a Morter of wood, and beate it very small: that done they mixe it with water, that the shels may sinke to the bottome. This water will be coloured as milke, which they call Pawcohiscora, and keepe it for their use. The fruit like Medlers they call Putchamins, they cast upon Hurdles on a Mat, and preserve them as Pruines. Of their Chesnuts and Chechinquamins boyled foure houres, they make both Broth and Bread for their chiefe men, or at their greatest feasts. Besides those fruit trees, there is a white Populer, and another tree like unto it, that yeeldeth a very cleare and an odoriferous Gumme like Turpentine, which some called Balsam. There are also Cedars and Saxafras tree. They also yeeld Gummes in a small proportion of themselves.

Vines.

[IV. ix. 1695.]

Chechinquamins.

Rawcomenes.

How they use their fruits.

Walnut milke.

Gums.

Cedars.

Saxafras trees.

Wee tried conclusions to extract it out of the wood, but nature affoorded more than our arts.

Berries. In the watery Valleyes groweth a Berrie, which they call Ocoughtanamnis, very much like unto Capers. These they dry in Summer. When they will eate them, they boyle them neere halfe a day; for otherwise they differ *Mattoume.* not much from poison. Mattoume groweth as our Bents doe in medowes: the seed is not much unlike to Rie, though much smaller: this they use for a dainty Bread buttered with Deeres Suet.

Strawberries, and other berries. Herbes. During Summer there are either Strawberries which doe ripen in Aprill; or Mulberries which ripen in May and June: Raspises, Hurtes, or a fruit that the Inhabitants call Muracocks, which is a pleasant wholsome fruit, much like a Limond. Many Herbes in the Spring time there are commonly dispersed throughout the Woods, good for Broths and Sallets, as Violets, Purslane, Sorrell, &c. Besides many wee used whose names we know not.

The chiefe root they have for food is called Tockawhoughe, It groweth like a Flag in low muddy Freshes. In one day a Savage will gather sufficient for a weeke. These rootes are much of the greatnesse and taste of Potatoes. They use to cover a great many of them with Oke Leaves and Ferne, and then cover all with earth in the manner of a Cole-pit; over it, on each side, they continue a great fire twentie foure houres before they dare eat it. Raw it is no better then poison, and being roasted, except it be tender and the heat abated, or sliced and dried in the Sunne, mixed with Sorrell and Meale, or such like, it will prickle and torment the throat extreamely, and yet in Summer they use this ordinarily for bread.

Wighsacan a medicinable root. They have another root which they call Wighsacan: as th'other feedeth the bodie, so this cureth their hurts and diseases. It is a small roote which they bruise and *Pocones a small root.* apply to the wound. Pocones, is a small root that groweth in the Mountaines, which being dried and beat in powder turneth red. And this they use for swellings,

aches, anointing their joynts, painting their heads and garments. They account it verie precious, and of much worth. Musquaspenne is a root of the bignesse of a finger, and as red as bloud. In drying it will wither almost to nothing. This they use to paint their Mats, Targets, and such like. There is also Pellitorie of Spaine, Sasafrage, and divers others Simples, which the Apothecaries gathered, and commended to be good and medicinable. In the low marishes grow plots of Onions containing an acre of ground or more in many places; but they are small, not past the bignesse of the top of ones thumbe.

Musquaspenne a root.

Parietarie.

Sassafras.

Onions.

See infr. c. 14. of certaine Oxen found by Cap. Aryoll.

Of beasts the chiefe are Deare, nothing differing from ours. In the Desarts towards the heads of the Rivers, there are many, but amongst the Rivers few. There is a beast they call Aroughcun, much like a Badger, but useth to live on trees as Squirrels doe. Their Squirrels, some are neere as great as our smallest sort of wilde Rabbets, some blackish or blacke and white, but the most are gray. A small beast they have, they call Assapanick, but wee call them flying Squirrels, because spreading their legs, and so stretching the largenesse of their skinnes, that they have beene seene to flie thirtie or fortie yards. An Opassam hath a head like a Swine, and a taile like a Rat, and is of the bignesse of a Cat. Under her belly she hath a bag, wherein she lodgeth, carrieth, and suckleth her young. Mussascus, is a beast of the forme and nature of our water Rats, but many of them smell exceeding strongly of Muske. Their Hares are no bigger then our Conies, and few of them to be found.

Their chiefe beasts are Deere.

Aroughcun.

Squirrels.

Assapanick a Squirrel flying.

Opassom.

Mussascus.

Their Beares are verie little in comparison of those of Muscovia and Tartaria. The Beaver is as big as an ordinarie great Dog, but his legs exceeding short. His fore feet like a Dogs, his hinder feet like a Swans. His taile somewhat like the forme of a Racket bare without haire, which to eate the Savages esteeme a great delicate. They have many Otters, which as the Beavers they take with snares, and esteeme the skins great ornaments, and

Beares.

The Beaver.

Otters.

of all those beasts they use to feede when they catch them.

Vetchunquoyes. There is also a beast they call Vetchunquoyes, in the forme of a wilde Cat, their Foxes are like our silver haired *Foxes.* Conies of a small proportion, and not smelling like those [IV. ix. 1696.] in England. Their Dogs of that Countrey are like their Wolves, and cannot barke but howle; and their Wolves *Dogs.* not much bigger then our English Foxes. Martins, *Martins.* Powlecats, Weessels and Minkes we know they have, *Polcats. Weesels, and Minkes.* because we have seene many of their skins, though very seldome any of them alive. But one thing is strange, *Note.* that wee could never perceive their vermine destroy our Hens, Egges, nor Chickens, nor doe any hurt, nor their Flyes nor Serpents any way pernitious, where in the South parts of America they are alwaies dangerous and often deadly.

Birds. Of Birds the Eagle is the greatest devourer. Hawkes there bee of divers sorts as our Falconers called them. *Fish hawkes.* Sparrowhawkes, Lanarets, Goshawkes, Falcons, and Osperaies, but they all prey most upon Fish. Partridges there are little bigger then our Quailes, wilde Turkies are as bigge as our tame. There are Woosels or Blackbirds with red shoulders, Thrushes and divers sorts of small Birds, some red, some Blew, scarce so big as a Wren, but few in Summer. In Winter there are great plentie of Swans, Cranes, gray and white with blacke wings, Herons, Geese, Brants, Duck, Wigeon, Dotterell, Oxeies, Parrats and Pigeons. Of all those sorts great abundance, and some other strange kinds to us unknowne by name. But in Summer not any or a very few to be seene.

Fish. Of Fish, we are best acquainted with Sturgeon, Grampus, Porpus, Seales, Stingraies, whose tailes are very dangerous. Bretts, Mullets, white Salmonds, Trowts, Soles, Plaice, Herrings, Cony fish, Rockfish, Eeles, Lampreyes, Catfish, Shades, Perch of three sorts, Crabs, Shrimps, Crevises, Oysters, Cocles and Muscles. But the *Strange forme.* most strange Fish is a small one, so like the picture of

Saint George his Dragon, as possible can bee, except his legges and wings, and the Todefish, which will swell till it be like to burst, when it commeth into the aire.

Concerning the entrailes of the earth, little can be said for certaintie. There wanted good Refiners, for those that tooke upon them to have skill this way, tooke up the washings from the mountaines, and some moskered shining stones and spangles which the waters brought downe, flattering themselves in their owne vaine conceit to have supposed what they were not, by the meanes of that Ore, if it proved as their Arts and judgements expected. Onely this is certaine, that many Regions lying in the same Latitude, afford Mines very rich of divers natures. The crust also of these Rocks would easily perswade a man to beleeve there are other Mines then Iron and Steele, if there were but meanes and men of experience that knew the Mine from spare. *The Rocks.*

Of their Planted fruits in Virginia, and how they use them.

They divide the yeere into five seasons. Their Winter some call Papanow, the Spring Cattapeuk, the Summer Cohattayough, the earing of their Corne Nepinough, the Harvest and fall of leafe Taquitock. From September, untill the midst of November are the chiefe Feasts and Sacrifice. Then have they plentie of fruits, as well planted as naturall, as Corne, green and ripe, Fish, Fowle, and wild beasts exceeding fat. *How they divide the yeere.*

The greatest labour they take, is in planting their Corne, for the Countrey is naturally overgrowne with Wood. To prepare the ground they bruise the barke of the trees neere the roote, then doe they scorch the roots with fire that they grow no more. The next yeere with a crooked piece of Wood, they beat up the Woods by the roots, and in those moulds they plant their Corne. Their manner is this. They make a hole in the earth with a sticke, and into it they put foure graines of Wheat, and two of Beanes. These holes they make foure foot *How they prepare the ground.*

one from another; Their women and children do continually keepe it with weeding, and when it is growne middle high, they hill it about like a Hop-yard.

How they plant. In April they begin to plant, but their chiefe plantation is in May, and so they continue till the midst of June. What they plant in April, they reape in August; for May, in September; for June, in October. Every stalke of their Corne commonly beareth two eares, some three, seldome any foure, many but one, and some none. Every eare ordinarily hath betwixt two hundred and five hundred graines. The stalke being greene hath a sweet juyce in it, somewhat like a Sugar Cane, which is the cause that when they gather their Corne greene, they sucke the stalkes for as we gather greene Pease, so doe they their Corne being greene, which excelleth their old. They plant also Pease, which they call Assentamens, which are the same they call in Italy, Fagioli. Their Beanes are the same the Turkes call Garnanses, but these they much esteeme for dainties.

How they use their Corne. Their Corne they rost in the eare greene, and bruised it in a Morter of Wood with a Polt, lap it in roules in the leaves of their Corne, and so boile it for a daintie. They also reserve the Corne late planted that will not ripe, by roasting it in hot ashes, the heat thereof drying it. In Winter they esteeme it, being boiled with Beanes, for a rare dish, they call Pausarowmena. Their old Wheat they first steepe a night in hot water, in the morning pounding it in a Morter. They use a small basket for their Temmes, then pound againe the great, and so separating by dashing their hand in the basket, receive the flower in a platter made of Wood, scraped to that forme with burning and shels. Tempering this flower in water, they make it either in cakes covering with ashes till they be baked, and then washing them in faire water they drie presently with their owne heat: or else boile them in water, eating the broth with the bread, which they call Ponap. The grouts and pieces of the cornes remaining, by fanning in a platter, or in the wind, away,

the branne they boile three or foure houres with water, which is an ordinary food they call Ustatahamen. But some more thriftie then cleanly, doe burne the coare of the eare to powder, which they call Pungnough, mingling that in their meale, but it never tasted well in bread, nor broth. Their fish and flesh they boile either very tenderly, or broile it so long on hurdles over the fire, or else after the Spanish fashion, putting it on a spit, they turne first the one side, then the other, till it bee as drie as their Jerkin beefe in the West Indies, that they may keepe it a month or more without putrifying. The broth of fish or flesh they eate as commonly as the meat. [IV. ix. 1697.]

How they use their fish and flesh.

In May also amongst their Corne they plant Pumpeons, and a fruit like unto a Muske Millen, but lesse and worse, which they call Macocks. These increase exceedingly, and ripen in the beginning of July, and continue untill September. They plant also Maracocks, a wilde fruit like a Lemmon, which also increase infinitely. They begin to ripe in September, and continue till the end of October. When all their fruits be gathered, little else they plant, and this is done by their women and children; neither doth this long suffice them, for neere three parts of the yeere they onely observe times and seasons, and live of what the Countrey naturally affordeth from hand to mouth, &c.

Planted fruits.

The mildnesse of the aire, the fertilitie of the soile, and the situation of the Rivers, are so propitious to the nature and use of man, as no place is more convenient for pleasure, profit, and mans sustenance. Under that Latitude or Climate, here will live any beasts, as Horses, Goats, Sheepe, Asses, Hens, &c. as appeared by them that were carried thither. The waters, Iles, and shoales, are full of safe harbours for ships of Warre or Merchandize, for boats of all sorts, for transportation or fishing, &c. The Bay and Rivers have much merchandable fish, and places fit for Salt coats, building of Ships, making of Iron, &c.

The commodities in Virginia, or that may bee had by industry. A proofe, cattell will live well.

Muscovia and Polonia doe yeerely receive many

The Commodities.

thousands, for Pitch, Tarre, Sope, ashes, Rosen, Flax, Cordage, Sturgeon, Masts, Yards, Wainscot, Firres, Glasse, and such like: also Swethland for Iron and Copper. France in like manner for Wine, Canvas, and Salt; Spaine as much for Iron, Steele, Figs, Reasons, and Sackes. Italy with Silkes and Velvets consume our chiefe commodities. Holland maintaines it selfe by Fishing and Trading at our owne doores. All these temporize with other for necessities, but all as uncertaine as Peace or Warres. Besides the charge, travell, and danger in transporting them, by seas, lands, stormes, and Pyrats. Then how much hath Virginia the prerogative of all those flourishing Kingdomes, for the benefit of our Land, when as within one hundred miles all those that are to bee had, either readie provided by nature, or else to be prepared, were there but industrious men to labour. Onely Copper (we may doubt) is wanting; but there is good probabilitie that both Copper, and better mynerals are there to bee had for their labour. Other Countries have it. So then here is a place, a nurse for Souldiers, a practise for Mariners, a trade for the Merchants, a reward for the good, and that which is most of all, a businesse (most acceptable to God) to bring such poore Infidels to the true knowledge of God, and his holy Gospel.

Of the naturall Inhabitants of Virginia, and their customes.

The numbers.

700. men were the most seene together, when they thought to have surprised Captaine Smith.

The land is not populous, for the men be few; their farre greater number is of women and children. Within sixtie miles of James Towne there are about some 7000. people, but of able men fit for their warres scarse 2000. To nourish so many together they have yet no meanes, because they make so small a benefit of their Land, be it never so fertill: seven or eight hundred (though by their owne report they were above a thousand) have beene the most which hath beene seene together, when they gathered themselves to have surprised Captaine Smith at

Pamavuke, having but fifteene to withstand the worst of their furie. As small as the proportion of ground that hath yet beene discovered, is in comparison of that yet unknowne, the people differ very much in stature, especially in language, as before is expressed. Some being very great, as the Sesquesahamocks; others very little, as the Wighcocomocoes; but generally tall and straight, of a comely proportion, and of a colour browne when they are of any age, but they are borne white. Their haire is generally blacke, but few have any beards. The men weare halfe their heads shaven, the other halfe long; for Barbers they use their women, who with two shels will grate away the haire, of any fashion they please. The women are cut in many fashions agreeable to their yeares, but ever some part remaineth long. They are very strong, of an able body and full of agilitie, able to endure to lye in the woods under a tree by the fire, in the worst of winter, or in the weedes and grasse, in Ambuscado in the Summer. They are inconstant in every thing, but what care constraineth them to keepe. Craftie, timerous, quicke of apprehension, and very ingenious. Some are of disposition fearefull, some bold, most cautelous, all Savage: Generally covetous of Copper, Beads, and such like trash. They are soone moved to anger, and so malicious, that they seldome forget an injury: they seldome steale one from another, least their Conjurers should reveale it, and so they be pursued and punished. That they are thus feared is certaine, but that any can reveale their offences by conjuration I am doubtfull. Their women are carefull not to be suspected of dishonesty without the leave of their husbands. Each houshold knoweth their owne lands and gardens, and most live of their owne labours. For their apparell, they are sometime covered with the skins of wilde Beasts, which in winter are dressed with the haire, but in summer without. The better sort use large mantels of Deare skins, not much differing in fashion from the Irish Mantels: some imbrodered with white Beades, some

A description of the people.

The Barbars.

The constitution.

The disposition.

[VI. ix. 1698.]

The possessions.

Their attire.

with Copper, other painted after their manner. But the common sort have scarce to cover their nakednesse but with grasse, the leaves of trees, or such like. Wee have seene some use mantels made of Turkie-feathers, so prettily wrought and woven with threds, that nothing could be discerned but the feathers. That was exceeding warme and very handsome. But the women are alwayes covered about their middles with a skin, and very shame-fac't to be seene bare. They adorne themselves most with Copper Beads and paintings. Their women, some have their legs, hands, brests and face cunningly imbrodered with divers works, as Beasts, Serpents, artificially wrought into their flesh with blacke spots. In each eare commonly they have three great holes, whereat they hang Chaines, Bracelets or Copper. Some of their men weare in those holes, a small greene and yellow coloured Snake, neere halfe a yard in length, which crawling and lapping her selfe about his necke oftentimes familiarly would kisse his lips. Others weare a dead Rat tied by the taile. Some on their heads weare the wing of a bird, or some large feather with a Rattell. Those Rattels are somewhat like the chape of a Rapier but lesse, which they take from the taile of a Snake. Many have the whole skin of a Hawke or some strange fowle, stuffed with the wings abroad. Others a broad peece of Copper, and some the hand of their enemy dried. Their head and shoulders are painted red with the roote Pocone braied to powder mixed with Oyle, this they hold in summer to preserve them from the heate, and in winter from the cold. Many other formes of paintings they use, but he is the most gallant that is the most monstrous to behold.

Fether Mantels.

Their ornaments.

Their Buildings and habitations are for the most part by the Rivers, or not farre distant from some fresh Spring. Their Houses are built like our Arbors, of small yong sprigs bowed and tied, and so close covered with mats, or the barks of trees very handsomely, that notwithstanding either winde, raine or weather, they are so warme as stoves, but very smoakie, yet at the top of the house there

Their buildings.

is a hole made for the smoake to goe into right over the fire.

Against the fire they lye on little hurdles of Reedes covered with a mat borne from the ground a foote and more by a Hurdle of wood. On these round about the house they lye heads and points one by thother against the fire, some covered with Mats, some with Skins, and some starke naked, lye on the ground, from six to twenty in a house. Their Houses are in the midst of their Fields or Gardens, which are small plots of grounds; some twenty, some forty, some a hundred, some two hundred, some more, some lesse, sometimes from two to a hundred of those houses together, or but a little seperated by groves of trees. Neare their habitations is little small wood or old trees on the ground by reason of their burning of them for fire. So that a man may gallop a horse amongst these woods any way, but where the creekes or Rivers shall hinder. *Their lodgings.* *Their gardens.*

Men, Women, and Children have their severall names, according to the severall humour of their Parents. Their women (they say) are easily delivered of child, yet doe they love children very dearely. To make them hardy, in the coldest mornings they wash them in the Rivers, and by painting and ointments so tan their skins, that after a yeare or two, no weather will hurt them. *How they use their children.*

The men bestow their times in fishing, hunting, warres, and such manlike exercises, scorning to be seene in any womanlike exercise, which is the cause that the women be very painfull, and the men often idle. The women and children doe the rest of the worke. They make Mats, Baskets, Pots, Morters, pound their corne, make their bread, prepare their victuals, plant their corne, gather their corne, beare all kinde of burdens, and such like. *The industry of their women.*

Their fire they kindle presently by chafing a dry pointed sticke in a hole of a little square peece of wood, that firing it selfe, will so fire mosse, leaves, or any such like dry thing, that will quickly burne. In March and Aprill they live much upon their fishing wares, and feede *How they strike fire.* *Their order of diet.*

on fish, Turkies, and Squirrels. In May and June they plant their fields, and live most of Acornes, Walnuts, and fish. But to mend their diet, some disperse themselves in small companies, and live upon fish, Beasts, Crabs, Oysters, land Tortoyses, Strawberries, Mulberries, and such like. In June, July, and August, they feede upon the rootes of Tocknough Berries, Fish, and greene Wheate. It is strange to see how their bodies alter with their diet, even as the Deere and wilde Beasts, they seeme fat and leane, strong and weake. Powhatan their great King, and some others that are provident, rost their fish and flesh upon hurdles, as before is expressed, and keepe it till scarce times.

How they make their Bowes and Arrowes.

For fishing, and hunting, and warres, they use much their Bowe and Arrowes. They bring their Bowes to the forme of ours: by the scraping of a shell. Their Arrowes are made some of straight yong sprigs, which they head with bone, some two or three inches long. These they use to shoote at Squirrels on trees. Another sort of Arrowes they use, made of reedes: these are peeced with wood, headed with splinters of Christall, or some sharpe stone; the spurs of a Turkey, or the bill of some Bird. For his Knife, he hath the splinter of a reede to cut his feathers in forme. With this Knife also, he will joynt a Deere or any Beast, shape his shooes, buskins, Mantels, &c. To make the noch of his Arrow, he hath the tooth of a Bever, set in a sticke, wherewith he grateth it by degrees. His Arrow head he quickly maketh with a little bone, which he ever weareth at his bracer, of any splint of a stone or glasse, in the forme of a hart; and these they glew to the end of their Arrowes. With the sinewes of Deere, and the tops of Deeres hornes boiled to a jelly, they make a glew that will not dissolve in cold water.

Their Knife.

[IV. ix. 1699.]

Their Targets and Swords.

For their warres also they use Targets that are round and made of the barkes of trees, and a sword of wood at their backes, but oftentimes they use for swords the horne of a Deere put through a peece of wood, in forme

of a Pickaxe: some a long stone sharpened at both ends, used in the same manner. This they were wont to use also for Hatchets, but now by trucking, they have plenty of the same forme of Iron. And those are their chiefe instruments and armes.

Their fishing is much in Boates. These they make of one tree by burning and scratching away the coles with stones and shels, till they have made it in forme of a Trough. Some of them are an elle deepe, and forty or fifty foote in length, and some will beare forty men, but the most ordinary are smaller, and will beare ten, twenty, or thirty, according to their bignesse. Instead of Oares, they use paddles and stickes, with which they will rowe faster then our Barges. Betwixt their hands and thighes, their women use to spin; the Barkes of trees, Deere sinewes, or a kinde of grasse they call Pemmenaw, of these they make a thred very even and readily. This thred serveth for many uses, about their housing, apparell, as also they make nets for fishing, for the quantity as formally braded as ours. They make also with it lines for angles. Their hookes are either a bone grated, as they nocke their Arrowes, in the forme of a crooked pin or fishhooke, or of the splinter of a bone tied to the clift of a little sticke, and with the end of the line, they tye on the baite. They use also long Arrowes tyed in a line, wherewith they shoote at fish in the River. But they of Accawmack use staves, like unto Javelins, headed with bone. With these they dart fish swimming in the water. They have also many artificiall wares, in which they get abundance of fish.

Their Boats.

How they spin.

Their Fishooks.

In their hunting & fishing they take extreame paines; yet it being their ordinary exercise from their infancy, they esteemed it a pleasure and are very proud to be expert therein: And by their continuall ranging, and travell, they know all the advantages and places most frequented with Deere, Beasts, Fish, Fowle, Rootes, and Berries. At their huntings they leave their habitations, and reduce themselves into companies, as the Tartars doe,

Hunting labours.

How they hunt.

and goe to the most desert places with their families, where they spend their time in hunting and fowling up towards the Mountains, by the heads of their Rivers, where there is plenty of game. For betwixt the Rivers, the grounds are so narrow, that little commeth there which they devoure not. It is a marvell they can so directly passe these desarts, some three or foure daies journie without habitation. Their hunting houses are like unto Arbours covered with mats. These their women beare after them, with Corne, Acornes, Morters, and all bag and baggage they use. When they come to the place of exercise, every man doth his best to shew his dexteritie, for by their excelling in those qualities, they get their wives. Forty yards will they shoote levell, or very neere the marke, and one hundred and twenty is their best at random. At their hunting in the desarts they are commonly two or three hundred together. Having found the Deere, they environ them with many fires, and betwixt the fires they place themselves. And some take their stands in the midst. The Deere being thus feared by the fires and their voices, they chace them so long within that circle, that many times they kill six, eight, ten, or fifteene at a hunting. They use also to drive them into some narrow point of land, when they finde that advantage, and so force them into the River, where with their Boates they have Ambuscadoes to kill them. When they have shot a Deere by land they follow him like Bloud-hounds, by the bloud and straine, and oftentimes so take them. Hares, Partridges, Turkies, or Egges, fat or leane, yong or old, they devoure all they can catch in their power. In one of these huntings they found Captaine Smith, in the discovery of the head of the River of Chickahamania, where they slew his men, and tooke him prisoner in a Bogmire, where he saw those exercises, and gathered these observations.

Hunting houses.

One Savage hunting alone.

One Savage hunting alone, used the skinne of a Deere slit on the one side, and so put on his arme, through the necke, so that his hand comes to the head which is stuffed,

and the hornes, head, eies, eares, and every part as artificially counterfeited as they can devise. Thus shrowding his body in the skin, by stalking he approacheth the Deere, creeping on the ground from one tree to another. If the Deere chance to finde fault, or stand at gaze, hee turneth the head with his hand to his best advantage to seeme like a Deere, also gazing and licking himselfe. So watching his best advantage to approach, having shot him, he chaseth him by his bloud and straine till he get him.

Their consultations.

When they intend any Wars, the Werowances usually have the advise of their Priests and Conjurers, and their allies and ancient friends, but chiefely the Priests determine their resolution. Every Werowance, or some lusty fellow, they appoint Captaine over every Nation. They seldome make Warre for lands or goods, but for women and children, and principally for revenge. They have many enemies, namely all their Westernely Countries beyond the Mountaines, and the heads of the Rivers. Upon the head of the Powhatans are the Monacans, whose chiefe habitation is at Russawmeake, unto whom the Mouhemenchughes, the Massinnacacks, the Monahassanuggs, and other Nations pay tributes. Upon the head of the River of Toppahanocke is a people called Mannahoacks. To these are contributers the Tauxsnitanias, the Shackaconias, the Outponcas, the Tegoneaes, the Whonkentyaes, the Stegarakes, the Hassinnungas, and divers others, all confederates with the Monacans though many differ in language, and be very barbarous, living for most part of wilde Beasts and fruits. Beyond the Mountaines, from whence is the head of the River Patawomeke, the Savages report inhabit their most mortall enemies, the Massawomekes upon a great salt water, which by all likelihood is either some part of Cannada, some great Lake, or some inlet of some Sea that falleth into the South Sea. These Massawomekes are a great Nation and very populous. For the heads of all those Rivers, especially the Pattawomekes, the Pautuxuntes, the Sasquesahanoks, the Tockwoughes are continually tormented by them: of

Their enemies.

Massawomekes.

[IV. ix. 1700.]

whose cruelty, they generally complained, and very importunate they were with Captaine Smith and his company to free them from these tormentors. To this purpose they offered food, conduct, assistance, and continuall subjection; which hee concluded to effect. But the councell then present, emulating his successe, would not thinke it fit to spare him forty men to be hazarded in those unknowne Regions, having passed (as before was spoken of) but with twelve, and so was lost that opportunity. Seven Boates full of these Massawomekes the discoverers encountred at the head of the Bay; whose Targets, Baskets, Swords, Tobaccopipes, Platters, Bowes and Arrowes, and every thing, shewed they much exceeded them of our parts, and their dexteritie in their small Boates made of the barkes of trees sowed with barke and well luted with gum, argueth that they are seated upon some great water.

Their offer of subjection.

Against all these enemies the Powhatans are constrained sometimes to fight. Their chiefe attempts are by Stratagems, trecheries, or surprisals. Yet the Werowances women and children they put not to death, but keepe them Captives. They have a method in warre, and for our pleasures they shewed it us, and it was in this manner performed at Mattapanient.

Their manner of battell.

Having painted and disguised themselves in the fiercest manner they could devise, they divided themselves into two Companies, neere a hundred in a Company. The one company called Monacans, the other Powhatans. Either army had their Captaine. These as enemies tooke their stands a Musket shot one from another; ranked themselves fifteene a brest, and each ranke from another foure or five yards, not in fyle, but in the opening betwixt their fyles. So as the Reare could shoote as conveniently as the Front. Having thus pitched the fields: from either part went a Messenger with these conditions, that whosoever were vanquished, such as escape upon their submission in two daies after shall live, but their wives and children should be prize for the Conquerours. The

Messengers were no sooner returned, but they approached in their orders: On each flanke a Sarjeant, and in the Reare an officer for Lieutenant, all duely keeping their orders, yet leaping and singing after their accustomed tune which they use onely in wars. Upon the first flight of Arrowes they gave such horrible shouts and screeches, as so many infernall helhounds could not have made them more terrible. When they had spent their Arrowes, they joyned together prettily, charging and retiring, every ranke seconding other. As they got advantage, they catched their enemies by the haire of the head, & down he came that was taken: his enemy with his wodden Sword seemed to beate out his braines, and still they crept to the Reare to maintaine the skirmish. The Monacans decreasing, the Powhatans charged them in the forme of a halfe Moon; they unwilling to be inclosed, fled all in a troope to their Ambuscadoes, on whom they led them very cunningly. The Monacans disperse themselves among the fresh men, whereupon the Powhatans retired with all speede to their seconds; which the Monacans seeing, tooke that advantage to retire againe to their owne battell, and so each returned to their owne quarter. All their actions, voices and gestures, both in charging and retiring, were so strained to the height of their quallitie and nature, that the strangenesse thereof made it seeme very delightfull.

Their Musicke.

For their musicke they use a thicke Cane, on which they pipe as on a Recorder. For their warres they have a great deepe platter of wood. They cover the mouth thereof with a skin, at each corner they tie a Walnut, which meeting on the backeside neere to the bottome, with a small rope they twitch them together till it be so tough and stiffe, that they may beate upon it as upon a Drum. But their chiefe instruments are Rattels made of small gourds or Pumpions shels. Of these they have Base, Tenor, Countertenor, Meane and Trible. These mingled with their voyces, sometimes twenty or thirty together, make such a terrible noise, as would rather affright then

Their entertainment. delight any man. If any great Commander arrive at the habitation of a Werowance, they spread a Mat, as the Turkes doe a Carpet, for him to sit upon. Upon another right opposite they sit themselves. Then doe all with a tunable voice of showting bid him welcome. After this doe two or more of their chiefest men make an Oration, testifying their love: which they doe with such vehemency, and so great passions, that they sweate till they drop, and are so out of breath they can scarce speake: so that a man would take them to be exceeding angry, or starke mad. Such victuall as they have, they spend freely, and at night where his lodging is appointed, they set a woman fresh painted red with Pocones and Oile, to be his bedfellow.

[IV. ix. 1701.]

Their trade. Their manner of trading is for Copper, Beades, and such like, for which they give such commodities as they have, as Skins, Fowle, Fish, Flesh, and their Countrie Corne. But their victuall is their chiefest riches.

Their phisicke. Every spring they make themselves sicke with drinking the juice of a roote they call Wighsacan, and water, whereof they powre so great a quantity, that it purgeth them in a very violent manner; so that in three or foure daies after they scarce recover their former health. Sometimes they are troubled with dropsies, swellings, aches, and such like diseases; for cure whereof they build a stove, in the forme of a Dovehouse, with mats, so close that a few coales therein covered with a pot, will make the patient sweate extreamely. For swellings also they use small peeces of touchwood, in the forme of cloves, which pricking on the griefe they burne close to the flesh, and from thence draw the corruption with their mouth. With this root Wighsacan they ordinarily heale greene wounds. But to scarifie a swelling or make incision, their best instruments are some splinted stone. Old ulcers or putrified hurts are seldome seene cured amongst them. They have many professed Physitians, who with their charmes and Rattels with an infernall rowt of words and actions will seeme to sucke their inward griefe from their

Their chirurgery.

Their charmes to cure.

navels or their grieved places; but of our Chirurgians they were so conceited, that they beleeved any Plaister would heale any hurt.

Of their Religion.

There is yet in Virginia no place discovered to be so Savage in which the Savages have not a Religion, Deere, and Bow, and Arrowes. All things that were able to doe them hurt beyond their prevention, they adore with their kinde of divine worship; as the fire, water, lightning, thunder, our ordnance, peeces, horses, &c. But their chiefe God they worship is the Divell; him they call Oke, and serve him more of feare then love. They say they have conference with him and fashion themselves as neere to his shape as they can imagine. In their Temples they have his image evil favouredly carved, and then painted and adorned with Chaines, Copper, and Beads, and covered with a skin, in such manner as the deformitie may well suite with such a God. By him is commonly the sepulcher of their Kings. Their bodies are first bowelled, then dried upon hurdles till they be very dry, and so about the most of their joints and necke they hang Bracelets or Chaines of Copper, Pearle, and such like, as they use to weare, their inwards they stuffe with Copper Beads and covered with a Skin, Hatchets, and such trash. Then lap they them very carefully in white Skins, and so rowle them in mats for their winding-sheetes. And in the Tombe, which is an arch made of Mats, they lay them orderly. What remaineth of this kinde of wealth, their Kings have, they set at their feete in baskets. These Temples and bodies are kept by their Priests.

Their God.

How they bury their Kings.

For their ordinary burials, they dig a deepe hole in the earth with sharpe stakes, and the corpes being lapped in Skins and Mats with their Jewels, they lay them upon sticks in the ground, and so cover them with earth. The buriall ended, the women being painted all their faces with black cole and oyle, doe sit foure and twenty houres in the houses mourning and lamenting by turnes, with

Their ordinary burials.

such yelling and howling as may expresse their great passions.

Their Temples. In every Territory of a Werowance is a Temple and a Priest, two, or three, or more. Their principall Temple or place of superstition is at Uttamussack at Pamavuke, neere unto which is a house temple or place of Powhatans. Upon the top of certain red sandy hils in the woods, there are three great houses filled with images of their Kings, and Divels, & Tombes of their Predecessors. Those houses are neere sixty foot in length, built arbotwise after their building. This place they count so holy as that none but the Priests and Kings dare come into them; nor the Savages dare not goe up the River in Boates by it, but that they solemnly cast some peece of Popper, white Beads or Pocones into the River; for feare their Oke should be offended and revenged of them. In this place commonly are resident seven Priests. The chiefe differed from the rest in his ornaments, but inferior Priests could hardly be knowne from the common people, but that they had not so many holes in their eares to hang their Jewels at. The ornament of the chiefe Priest were certaine attires for his head made thus: They tooke a dosen, or sixteene, or more Snake skins, and stuffed them with mosse, & of Weesels, and other vermine skins a good many. All these they tye by their tailes, so as all their tailes meete in the top of their head, like a great Tassell. Round about this Tassell is as it were a crown of feathers, the skins hang round about his head, necke, and shoulders, and in a manner cover his face. The faces of all their Priests are painted as ugly as they can devise, in their hands they had every one his Rattell, some base, some smaller. Their devotion was most in Songs, which the chiefe Priest beginneth, and the rest followed him, sometimes he maketh invocations with broken sentences by starts and strange passions, and at every pause, the rest give a short groane.

Their ornaments for their Priests.

Their times of solemnities. It could not be perceived that they keepe any day as more holy then other; but onely in some great distresse

of want, feare of enemies, times of triumph and gathering together their fruits, the whole Country of men, women, and children come together to solemnities. The manner of their devotion is, sometimes to make a great fire in the house or fields, and all to sing and dance about it with Rattles and shouts together foure or five houres. Sometime they set a man in the midst, and about him they dance and sing, he all the while clapping his hands if he would keepe time, and after their songs and dancings ended they goe to their Feasts. [IV. ix. 1702.]

Their Conjurations.

They have also divers conjurations; one they made when Captaine Smith was their prisoner (as they reported) to know if any more of his Country-men would arrive there, and what hee there intended. The manner of it followeth in his story.

Their Altars. C. Smith.

They have also certaine Altar stones, they call Pawcorances, but these stand from their Temples, some by there houses; others in the Woods and Wildernesses: Where they have had any extraordinary accident or incounter. As you travell by them they will tell you the cause of their erection, wherein they instruct their children; so that they are in stead of Records and memorialls of their Antiquities. Upon this they offer bloud, Deare suet, and Tobacco. These they doe when they returne from the warres, from hunting, and upon many other occasions. They have also another superstition that they use in stormes, when the waters are rough in the Rivers and Sea Coasts. Their Conjurers runne to the water sides, or passing in their Boats, after many hellish outcries and invocations, they cast Tobacco, Copper, Pocones, or such trash into the water, to pacifie that God whom they thinke to be very angry in those stormes. Before their dinners and suppers, the better sort will take the first bit, and cast it in the fire, which is all the grace they are knowne to use.

Sacrifices to the water.

Their solemne making of black-berries.

Every Nation in seven or ten yeeres useth a kind of solemnity. Such a one was at Quiyoughcohanock, some ten miles from James Towne, and thus performed.

Fifteene of the properest young Boyes, betweene ten and fifteene yeeres of age they painted white. Having brought them forth, the people spent the forenoone in dancing and singing about them with Rattles. In the afternoone they put those children to the root of the tree. By them all the men stood in a gard, every one having a Bastinado in his hand, made of Reeds bound together. This made a lane betweene them all along, through which there were appointed five young men to fetch these children: so everie one of the five went through the guard to fetch a child each after other by turnes, the guard fearlesly beating them with the Bastinadoes, and they patiently enduring and receiving all, defending the children with their naked bodies from the unmercifull blowes, that pay them soundly, though the children escape. All this while the women weepe and cry out verie passionately, providing Mats, Skins, Mosse, and drie Wood, as things fitting their childrens Funeralls. After the children were thus passed, the guard tore downe the trees, branches, and boughs, with such violence that they rent the bodie, and made wreathes for their heads, or bedecked their haire with leaves. What else was done with the children, was not seene, but they were all cast on a heape, in a Valley as dead, where they made a great feast for all the company. The Werowance being demanded the meaning of this sacrifice, answered, That the children were not all dead, but the next day they were to drinke Wighsakon, which would make them mad; and they were to bee kept by the last made Blacke boyes in the wildernesse, where their Oke did sucke the bloud of those which fell to his lot. The truth is, as I thinke, that many die with the misery which they endure. For they lye in all weathers in a little hovell naked, and they seldome speake or keepe company with any but their Keepers; whom they obey so, that if they be bidden sit on the frozen snow, they will not rise till they be called. And if they bid them goe take Fish, Flesh, or Corne from their mothers, or else they are Old me, this word is so terrible that they will

C. Smith.

teare their mothers throat, but they will have it; yea it makes them do whatsoever they are commanded: and much mischiefe they often doe to such as they find stragling. Yet hurt they not each other. They continue thus nine months. Then are divers platters of broth set, of which some are poysoned; and he whose divination finds out the poysoned, is much esteemed and made a Quiyoughcosuck. These are the degrees to become Priests or Conjurers. This sacrifice they held to be so necessary, that if they should omit it, their Oke or Devil, and all their other Quiyoughcosughes which are there other Gods, would let them have no Deare, Turkies, Corne, nor Fish, and yet besides, he would make a great slaughter amongst them.

They thinke that their Werowances and Priests, which they also esteeme Quiyoughcosughes, when they are dead, goe beyond the Mountaines towards the setting of the Sunne, and ever remaine there in forme of their Oke, with their heads painted with Oile and Pocones, finely trimmed with Feathers, and shall have Beades, Hatchets, Copper, and Tobacco, doing nothing but dance and sing, with all their Predecessors. But the common people they suppose shall not live after death.

Their resurrection.

To divert them from this blind Idolatry, many used their best endeavours, chiefly with the Werowances of Quiyoughcohanock, whose devotion, apprehension, and good disposition, much exceeded any in those Countries, whom though wee could not as yet prevaile withall to forsake his false Gods, yet this he did beleeve, that our God as much exceeded theirs, as our Gunnes did their Bowes and Arrowes, and many times did send to the President, at James Towne, men with Presents, intreating them to pray to his God for Raine, for his Gods would not send him any. And in this lamentable ignorance, doe these poore soules sacrifice themselves to the Devill, not knowing their Creator.

[Of the

[IV. ix. 1703.]

Of the manner of the Virginians Government.

Although the Countrey people be very barbarous, yet have they amongst them such government, as that their Magistrates for good commanding, and their people for due subjection, and obeying, excell many places that would be counted verie civill. The forme of their Commonwealth is a Monarchiall government, one as Emperour ruleth over many Kings or Governours. Their chiefe Ruler is called Powhatan, and taketh his name of the principall place of dwelling, called Powhatan. But his proper name is Wahunsonacock. Some Countries hee hath which have beene his Ancestors, and came unto him by Inheritance, as the Countrie called Powhatan, Arrohateck, Appamatuke, Pamavuke, Youghtanud, and Mattapanient. All the rest of his Territories expressed in the Map, they report have beene his severall conquests. In all his ancient Inheritances, hee hath houses built after their manner like arbours, some thirtie, some fortie yards long, and at everie house provision for his entertainment according to the time. At Werowcomoco, hee was seated upon the Northside of the River Pamavuke, some fourteene miles from James Towne, where for the most part, hee was resident, but hee tooke so little pleasure in our neere neighbourhood, that were able to visit him against his will in sixe or seven houres, that he retired himselfe to a place in the Desarts at the top of the River Chickahamania, betweene Youghtanund and Powhatan. His habitation is called Orapacks, where he ordinarily now resideth. He is of parsonage a tall well proportioned man, with a sower looke, his head somewhat gray, his beard so thin that it seemeth none at all, his age neere sixtie; of a verie able and hardie bodie to endure any labour. About his person ordinarily attendeth a guard of fortie or fiftie of the tallest men his Countrie doth afford. Everie night upon the foure quarters of his house are foure Sentinels each standing from other a flight shoot, and at every halfe houre one from the Corps due guard

A description of Powhatan.

His attendance & watch.

doth hollow, unto whom everie Sentinell doth answere round from his stand; if any faile, they presently send forth an officer that beateth him extreamely.

A mile from Orapakes, in a thicket of Wood, hee hath a house in which hee keepeth his kind of Treasure, as Skins, Copper, Pearle, and Beads, which he storeth up against the time of his death and buriall. Here also is store of Red paint for ointment, and Bowes and Arrowes. This house is fiftie or sixtie yards in length, frequented onely by Priests. At the foure corners of this house stand foure Images as Sentinels, one of a Dragon, another a Beare, the third like a Leopard, and the fourth like a Giant-like man, all made evill-favor'dly, according to their best workmanship. *His treasurie.*

He hath as many women as he will, whereof when he lieth on his bed, one sitteth at his head, and another at his feet, but when he sitteth, one sitteth on his right hand & another on his left. As he is weary of his women, he bestoweth them on those that best deserve them at his hands. When he dineth or suppeth, one of his women before and after meat, bringeth him water in a woodden Platter to wash his hands. Another waiteth with a bunch of Feathers to wipe them insteed of a Towell, and the Feathers when he hath wiped are dried againe. His Kingdome descendeth not to his sonnes nor children, but first to his brethren, whereof hee hath three, namely, Opitchapan, Opechancanough, and Catataugh, and after their decease to his sisters. First to the eldest sister, then to the rest, and after them to the heire male and female of the eldest sister, but never to the heires of the males. *His Wives.* *His Successors.* *The title of succession.*

Hee, nor any of his people understand any letters whereby to write or read, onely the Lawes whereby he ruleth is Custome. Yet when hee listeth his will is a law, and must be obeyed: not only as a King, but as halfe a God they esteeme him. His inferiour Kings, whom they call Werowances are tied to rule by customes, and have power of life and death, as their command in *Their authoritie.*

that nature. But this word Werowance, which we call and conster for a King, is a common word whereby they call all Commanders: for they have but few words in their language, and but few occasions to use any officers more then one Commander, which commonly they call Werowances. They all know their severall lands, and habitations, and limits, to fish, fowle, or hunt in, but they hold all of their great Werowance Powhatan, unto whom they pay tribute of Skins, Beads, Copper, Pearle, Deare, Turkies, wild Beasts, and Corne. What hee commandeth they dare not disobey in the least thing. It is strange to see with what great feare & adoration all these people do obey this Powhatan. For at his feet they present whatsoever hee commandeth, at the least frowne of his brow, their greatest spirits will tremble with feare: and no marvell, for hee is very terrible and tyrannous in punishing such as offend him. For example, hee caused certaine malefactors to bee bound hand and foot, then having many fires, gathering great store of burning coles, they rake these coles round in the forme of a cock-pit, and in the midst they cast the offenders to broyle to death. Somtimes hee causeth the heads of them that offend him, to bee laid upon the altar or sacrificing stone, and one with clubs beat out their braines. When he would punish any notorious enemy or malefactor, hee causeth him to bee tied to a tree, and with Muscle shels, or Reeds, the executioner cutteth off his joynts one after another, ever casting what they cut off into the fire; then doth hee proceed with Shels and Reeds to case the skin from his head and face; then doe they rip his belly, and so burne him with the tree and all. Thus themselves reported they executed George Cassen. Their ordinary correction is to beat them with cudgels. Wee have seene a man kneeling on his knees, and at Powhatans command, two men have beat him on the bare skin, till hee hath fallen senselesse in a sound, and yet never cry nor complained.

The tenor of their lands.

His manner of punishments.

[IV. ix. 1704.]

In the yeere 1608, he surprised the people of Payankatank, his neere neighbours and subjects. The occasion

was to us unknowne, but the manner was thus. First, he sent divers of his men to lodge amongst them that night, then the Ambusacodes invironed all their houses, and at the hour appointed, they all fel to the spoile, twenty foure men they slew, the long haire of their one side of their heads, with the skinne cased off with shels or reeds, they brought away. They surprised also the women, the children, and the Werowance. All these they present to Powhatan. The Werowance, women and children became his prisoners, and doe him service. The lockes of haire with their skins he hanged on a line unto two trees. And thus hee made ostentation of as great a triumph at Werowocomoco, shewing them to the English men that then came unto him at his appointment, they expecting provision, he to betray them, supposed to halfe conquer them by this spectacle of his terrible crueltie.

And this is as much as my memory can call to mind worthy of note; which I have purposely collected, to satisfie my friends of the true worth and qualitie of Virginia. Yet some bad natures will not stick to slander the Countrey, that will slovenly spit at all things, especially in company where they can find none to contradict them. Who though they were scarce ever ten miles from James Towne, or at the most but at the Falls; yet holding it a great disgrace that amongst so much action, their actions were nothing, exclaime of all things, though they never adventured to know any thing; nor ever did any thing but devoure the fruits of other mens labours. Being for most part of such tender educations and small experience in martiall accidents, because they found not English Cities, nor such faire houses, nor at their owne wishes any of their accustomed dainties, with Feather-beds, and Down-pillowes, Tavernes and Ale-houses in every breathing place, neither such plentie of Gold and Silver and dissolute libertie as they expected, had little or no care of any thing, but to pamper their bellies, to fly away with our Pinnaces, or procure their meanes to returne for England. For the Countrey was to them a misery, a

Vanitie of Effeminate Planters.

ruine, a death, a hell, their reports here, and their owne actions were there according.

Vanitie of self-seeking gloriosos. Some other there were that had yeerely stipends to passe to and againe for transportation: who to keepe the mystery of the businesse in themselves, though they had neither time nor meanes to know much of themselves; yet all mens actions or relations they so formally tuned to the temporizing times simplicitie, as they could make their ignorances seeme much more, then all the true actors could by their experience. And those with their great wordes deluded the world with such strange promises, as abused the businesse much worse then the rest. For the businesse being builded upon the foundation of their fained experience, the planters, the Money, Tin, and meanes have still miscarried: yet they ever returning, and the Planters so farre absent, who could contradict their excuses? which still to maintaine their vain-glory and estimation, from time to time they have used such diligence as made them passe for truths, though nothing more false. And that the adventurers might be thus abused, let no man wonder; for the wisest living is soonest abused by him that hath a faire tongue and a dissembling heart.

Miserie of base idlenesse. There were many in Virginia meerely projecting, verball and idle contemplators, and those so devoted to pure idlenesse, that though they had lived two or three yeeres in Virginia, lordly necessitie it selfe could not compel them to passe the Peninsula, or Pallisadoes of James Town, & those wittie spirits, what would they not affirme in the behalfe of our transporters to get victuall from their ships, or obtaine their good words in England to their passes. Thus the clamors and the ignorance of false informers, are sprung those disasters that sprung in Virginia, and our ingenious Verbalists were no lesse plague to us in Virginia, then the Locusts to the Egyptians. For the labour of thirtie of the best only, preserved in Christianitie by their industry the idle livers of neere two hundred of the rest: who living neere ten months of such naturall meanes,

as the Countrey naturally of it selfe afforded, notwithstanding all this, and the worst fury of the Savages, the extremitie of sicknesse, mutinies, faction, ignorances, and want of victuall: in all that time I lost but seven or eight men, yet subjected the Savages to our desired obedience, and received contribution from five and thirtie of their Kings, to protect and assist them against any that should assault them; in which order they continued true and faithfull, and as subjects to his Majestie, so long after as I did governe there, untill I left the Countrey: since, how they have revolted, the Countrey lost, and againe replanted, and the businesses have succeeded from time to time, I refer you to the relations of them returned from Virginia, that have beene more diligent in such observations, gathered out of the Writings of divers of that Plantation, by Doctor William Simons.

Chap. III.

[IV. ix. 1705.]

The proceedings of the English Colony in Virginia, taken faithfully out of the writings of Thomas Studly Cape-Merchant, Anas Todkill, Doctor Russell, Nathaniel Powell, William Phetiplace, and Richard Pot, *Richard Wiffin, Tho. Abbay, Tho. Hope; and since enlarged out of the Writings of Capt. John Smith, principall Agent and Patient in these Virginian Occurrents, from the beginning of the Plantation 1606. till Ann. 1610. somewhat abridged.

*I have many written Treatises lying by me, written by Capt. Smith and others, some there, some here after there returne: but because these have alreadie seene the light, and containe a full relation of Virginian affaires, I was loth to wearie the Reader with others of this time.

Aptaine Bartholomew Gosnold, the first mover of this Plantation, having many yeeres solicited many of his friends, but found small assistants; at last prevailed with some Gentlemen, as M. Edward-Maria Wingfield, Captaine John Smith, and divers others, who depended a yeere upon his projects, but nothing could be effected, till by

The first mover of the action.

their great charge and industrie it came to bee apprehended by certaine of the Nobilitie, Gentrie, and Merchants, so that his Majestie by his Letters Patents, gave Commission for establishing Councels, to direct here, and to governe, and to execute there; to effect this, was spent another yeere, and by that time three Ships were provided, one of one hundred Tuns, another of fortie, and a Pinnace of twentie. The transportation of the Company was committed to Captaine Christopher Newport, a Mariner well practised for the Westerne parts of America. But their orders for government were put in a Box, not to bee opened, nor the Governours knowne untill they arrived in Virginia.

Orders for government.

Susan Constant Admirall with 71.
God speed Vice-admirall with 52.
Commanded by Cap. Gosnol.
Discovery Rear-admirall, with 21.

On the ninteenth of December, 1606. wee set saile, but by unprosperous winds, were kept six weekes in the sight of England; all which time, M. Hunt our Preacher, was so weake and sicke, that few expected his recoverie. Yet although hee were but ten or twelve miles from his habitation (the time we were in the Downes) and notwithstanding the stormy weather, nor the scandalous imputation (of some few, little better then Atheists, of the greatest ranke amongst us) suggested against him, all this could never force from him so much as a seeming desire to leave the businesse, but preferred the Service of God, in so good a Voyage, before any affection to contest with his godlesse foes, whose disasterous designes (could they have prevailed) had even then overthrowne the businesse, so many discontents did then arise, had he not with the water of patience, and his godly exhortations (but breifly by his true devouted examples) quenched those flames of envy and dissention.

Godly zeale of M. Hunt.

Wee watred at the Canaries, we traded with the Savages at Dominica, three weekes we spent in refreshing our selves amongst these West India Iles; in Gwardalupa wee found a Bath so hot, as in it we boiled Porck as well as over the fire. And at a little Ile, called Monica, wee tooke from the Bushes with our hands, neere two Hogsheads of Birds in three or foure houres. In Mevis,

Monica an unfrequented Ile full of birds.

Mona, and the Virgin Iles, we spent some time, wherewith a loathsome beast like a Crocadil, called a Gwayn, Tortoses, Pellicans, Parrots, and Fishes, wee daily feasted. Gone from thence in search of Virginia, the Company was not a little discomforted, seeing the Mariners had three daies passed their reckoning and found no Land, so that Captaine Ratcliffe (Captaine of the Pinnace) rather desired to beare up the Helme to returne for England, then make further search. But God the guider of all good actions, forcing them by an extreame storme to Hull all night, did drive them by his providence to their desired Port, beyond all their expectations, for never any of them had seene that Coast. The first Land they made, they called Cape Henry; where anchoring, M. Wingfield, Gosnoll, and Newport, with thirtie others, recreating themselves on shoare, Were assaulted by five Savages, who hurt two of the English very dangerously. That night was the Box opened, and the orders read, in which Bartholomew Gosnoll, Edward Wingfield, Christopher Newport, John Smith, John Ratliffe, John Martin, and George Kendall, were named to be the Councell, and to chuse a President amongst them for a yeere, who with the Councell should governe. Matters of moment were to be examined by a Jury, but determined by the Major part of the Councell, in which the President had two voices. Untill the thirteenth of May they sought a place to plant in, then the Councell was sworne, M. Wingfield was chosen President, and an Oration made, why Captaine Smith was not admitted to the Councell as the rest.

Their first landing.

Matters of government.

Now falleth every man to worke, the Councell contrive the Fort, the rest cut downe Trees to make place to pitch their Tents; some provide Clap-board to relade the Ships, some make Gardens, some Nets, &c. The Savages often visited us kindly. The Presidents overweening jealousie would admit no exercise at Armes, or Fortification, but the Boughs of Trees cast together in the forme of a halfe Moone, by the extraordinary paine and diligence of Captaine Kendall, Newport, with Smith, and twentie

The discoverie of the Fals and Powhatan. [IV. ix. 1706.]

others, were sent to discover the head of the River: by divers small habitations they passed, in sixe dayes they arrived at a Towne called Powhatan, consisting of some twelve houses pleasantly seated on a Hill; before it three fertill Iles, about it many of their Cornfields, the place is very pleasant, and strong by nature, of this place the Prince is called Powhatan, and his people Powhatans, to this place the River is Navigable, but higher within a mile, by reason of the Rockes and Iles, there is not passage for a small Boat, this they call the Falls, the people in all parts kindly intreated them, till being returned within twentie miles of James Towne, they gave just cause of jealousie, but had God not blessed the discoverers otherwise then those at the Fort, there had then beene an end of that Plantation; for at the Fort, where they arrived the next day, they found seventeene men hurt, and a boy slaine by the Savages, and had it not chanced a crosse Bar shot from the Ships strooke downe a Bough from a Tree amongst them, that caused them to retire, our men had all beene slaine, being securely all at worke, and their Armes in Dry-fats. Heereupon the President was contented the Fort should be pallisadoed, the Ordnance mounted, his men armed and exercised, for many were the assaults, and Ambuscadoes of the Savages, and our men by their disorderly stragling were often hurt, when the Savages by the nimblenesse of their heeles well escaped. What toile we had, with so small a power to guard our workemen adayes, watch all night, resist our enemies, and effect our businesse, to relade the Ships, cut downe Trees, and prepare the ground to plant our Corne, &c. I refer to the Readers consideration. Six weekes being spent in this manner; Captaine Newport (who was hired onely for our transportation) was to returne with the Ships.

The Fort assaulted by the Savages. I have also M. Wingfields notes of these affaires: but would not trouble the Reader here with things more then troublesome there.

Now Captaine Smith (who all this time from their departure from the Canaries) was restrained as a prisoner upon the scandalous suggestions of some of the chiefe (envying his repute) who fained he intended to usurpe

the government, murder the Councell, and make himselfe King, that his confederates were dispersed in all the three Ships, and that divers of his confederates that revealed it, would affirme it; for this he was committed, thirteene weekes hee remained thus suspected, and by that time the Ships should returne, they pretended, out of their commisserations, to referre him to the Councell in England to receive a check, rather then by particulating his designes make him so odious to the world, as to touch his life, or utterly overthrow his reputation; but he much scorned their charitie, and publikely defied the uttermost of their crueltie, hee wisely prevented their policies, though hee could not suppresse their envies, yet so well hee demeaned himselfe in this businesse, as all the Company did see his innocencie, and his adversaries malice, and those which had beene subborned to accuse him, accused his accusers of subornation; many untruths were alledged against him; but being so apparantly disproved, begat a generall hatred in the hearts of the Company against such unjust Commanders; many were the mischiefes that daily sprung from their ignorant (yet ambitious) spirits; but the good doctrine and exhortation of our Preacher Master Hunt reconciled them, and caused Captaine Smith to be admitted of the Councell: the next day all received the Communion, the day following the Savages voluntarily desired peace, and Captaine Newport returned for England with newes; leaving in Virginia one hundred, the fifteenth of June 1607. *Capt. Newports returne for England.*

The names of them that were the first planters, were these following. Master Edward-Maria Wingfield, Captaine Bartholomew Gosnoll, Capt. John Smith, Capt. John Ratcliffe, Cap. John Martin, Capt. George Kendall, Councellors.

M. George Piercy, M. Robert Hunt Preacher, Anthony Gosnoll, Capt. Gabrill Archer, Rob. Ford, William Brustar, Dru Pickhouse, John Brookes, Thomas Sands, John Robinson, Ustis Clovill, Kellam Throgmorton, Nathaniell Powell, Robert Behethland, Jeremy Alicock,

Thomas Studley, Richard Crofts, Nicholas Houlgrave, Thomas Webbe, John Waler, William Tankard, Francis Snarsbrough, Edward Brookes, Richard Dixon, John Martin, George Martin, Anthony Gosnold, Thomas Wotton, Seirg. Thomas Gore, Francis Midwinter, Gentlemen.

William Laxon, Edward Pising, Tho. Emry, Rob. Small, Carpenters. Anas Todkill, John Capper.

James Read, Blacksmith. Jonas Profit, Sailer. Tho. Couper, Barber. John Herd, Brick-layer. William Garret, Brick-layer. Edward Brusto, Mason. William Love, Taylor. Nic. Skot, Drum.

John Laydon, William Cassen, George Cassen, Tho. Cassen, William Rods, William White, Ould Edward, Henry Tavin, George Golding, John Dods, Will. Johnson, Will. Unger, Labourers. Will. Wilkinson, Surgeon.

Samuell Collier, Nat. Pecock, James Brumfield, Rich. Mutton, with divers others to the number of one hundred and five.

What happened till the first supply. Chap. 2.

BEing thus left to our fortunes, it fortuned that within ten dayes, scarce ten amongst us could either goe, or well stand, such extreame weaknesse and sicknesse oppressed us. And thereat none need marvell, if they consider the cause and reason, which was this; whilest the ships stayed, our allowance was somewhat bettered, by a daily proportion of bisket which the Saylers would pilfer to sell, give or exchange with us, for money, saxefras, furres, or love. But when they departed, there remained neither Taverne, Beere-house, nor place of reliefe but the common kettell. Had we beene as free from all sinnes as gluttony, and drunkennesse, we might have beene canonized for Saints: But our President would never have beene admitted, for ingrossing to his private, Otemeale, Sack, Oile, Aquavitæ, Beefe, Egges, or what not, but the kettel; that indeed he allowed equally to be distributed, and that was halfe a pinte of Wheat, and as much Barly boiled with water for a man a day,

The occasion of sicknesse.

The Sailers abuses.

[IV. ix. 1707.]

and this having fryed some six and twentie weekes in the ships hold, contained as many wormes as graines; so that wee might truely call it rather so much Bran then Corne, our drinke was water, our lodgings castles in aire, with this lodging and diet, our extreame toile in bearing and planting Pallisadoes, so strained and bruised us, and our continuall labour in the extreamitie of heat had so weakned us, as were cause sufficient to have made us as miserable in our native Countrey, or any other place in the world. From May, to September, those that escaped lived upon Sturgion, and Sea-Crabs; fiftie in this time we buried: The rest seeing the Presidents projects to escape these miseries in our Pinnace by flight (who all this time had neither felt want nor sicknesse) so moved our dead spirits, as wee deposed him; and established Ratcliffe in his place, (Gosnoll being dead) Kendall deposed, Smith newly recovered, Martin and Ratcliffe was by his care preserved and relieved, but now was all our provision spent, the Sturgeon gone, all helpes abandoned, each houre expecting the fury of the Savages; when God, the Patron of all good indeavours in that desperat extreamitie, so changed the hearts of the Savages, that they brought such plentie of their fruits and provision, as no man wanted.

A bad President.

Plentie unexpected.

The new President, and Martin, being little beloved; of weake judgement in dangers, and lesse industry in peace, committed the managing of all things abroad to Captaine Smith: who by his owne example, good words, and faire promises, set some to mow, others to binde thatch, some to build houses, others to thatch them, himselfe alwaies bearing the greatest taske for his owne share, so that in short time he provided most of them lodgings, neglecting any for himselfe. This done, seeing the Savages superfluitie begin to decrease (with some of his workmen) hee shipped himselfe in the shallop to search the Countrey for trade, the want of the language, knowledge to mannage his Boat without Sailers, the want of sufficient power (knowing the multitude of the Savages)

The building of James town.

apparell for his men, and other necessaries, were infinite impediments, yet no discouragement. Being but sixe or seven in company, hee went downe the River to Kecoughtan, where at first they scorned him, as a starved man; and would in derision offer him a handfull of Corne, or a piece of Bread for their Swords and Muskets, and such like proportions also for their apparell. But seeing by trade there was nothing to be had, necessitie forced him to exceed his Commission, and to use his Muskets to another kind of trading, which made these deriders flye to the Woods. Hee hasted to their houses, and found store of Corne from which the hungry Souldiers were hardly detained, in hastier spoile to have betrayed themselves to the returning Savages assault. This sixtie or seventy did presently, with hideous noise to the eare, and manifold colours painted to the eye, singing and dancing with their Okee (which was an Idol made with skins, stuffed with mosse, all painted and hanged with Chaines and Copper, borne before them) and being well armed with Clubs, Targets, Bowes and Arrowes, they charged the English, who so kindly received them with their Muskets loaden with Pistoll shot, that downe fell their God, and divers of his worshippers lay sprauling on the ground, the rest flying to the Woods. Soone after they sent one of their Quiyoughcasucks to offer peace, and redeeme their Okee. Smith agreed that if onely sixe would come unarmed and load his Boat with Corne, hee would be their friend, restore their Okee, and give them also Beads, Copper, Hatchets; which on both sides was performed to mutuall content, and they brought him (singing and dansing) Venison, Turkeys, wild Fowle, Bread, &c. In his returne hee discovered and kindly traded with the Weraskoyks, in the meane time those at the Fort so glutted the Savages with their commodities as they became not regarded.

C. Smith.

The beginning of trade abroad.

Smith perceiving (notwithstanding their late misery) not any regarded but from hand to mouth (the company being well recovered) caused the Pinnace to bee provided

with things fitting to get provision for the yeere following; but in the interim he made three or foure journeys and discovered the people of Chickahamine, yet what hee carefully provided the rest carelesly spent. Wingfield and Kendall living in disgrace, seeing all things at randome in the absence of Smith. The Companies dislike of their Presidents weaknesse, and their small love to Martins never-mending sicknesse, strengthened themselves with the Sailers, and other confederates to regaine their former credit and authoritie, or at least such meanes aboard the Pinnace (being fitted to saile as Smith had appointed for trade) to alter her course and to goe for England. Smith unexpectedly returning had the plot discovered unto him, much trouble hee had to prevent it, till with store of Fauken and Musket shot hee forced them to stay or sinke in the River, which action cost the life of Captaine Kendall. The President and Captaine Archer not long after intended also to have abandoned the Countrey, which project also was curbed and suppressed by Smith. And now the Winter approaching, the Rivers became so covered with Swans, Geese, Ducks, and Cranes, that wee daily feasted with good Bread, Virginia Pease, Pumpions, and Putchamins, Fish, Fowle, and divers sorts of wild Beasts as fat as wee could eate them: so that none of our Tuftaffatie humorists desired to goe for England. But our Comædies never endured long without a Tragedie; some idle exceptions being muttered against Captaine Smith, for not discovering the head of Chickahamine river, & taxed by the Councel, to be too slow in so worthy an attempt. The next voyage hee proceeded so far, that with much labour by cutting off Trees in sunder hee made his passage, but when his Barge could passe no farther, hee left her in a broad Bay out of danger of shot, commanding none should goe ashoare till his returne: himselfe with two English and two Savages went up higher in a Canowe, but hee was not long absent, but his men went ashoare, whose want of government, gave both occasion and

The discovery of Chickahamine.

Another project to abandon the Countrey Winter Fowles.

opportunity to the Savages to surprize one George Casson, and much failed not to have cut off the Boate and all the rest.

The Savages having drawne from George Casson, whither Captaine Smith was gone, followed him with three hundred Bowmen, conducted by Opechankanough the King of Pamaunke; who searching the divisions of the River, found Robinson and Emery by the fire side, whom they shot full of Arrowes and slew. Smith being assaulted, slew three of them, and so galled the rest that they would not come neere: he used the Savage his guide as a shield, having bound him to his arme with his garters; and thinking to have recovered his Boate, having more eye to them in his march then to his way, he slipped up to the middle in an ozie creeke, and his Savage with him; yet durst they not come to him till he threw away his armes, being neere dead with cold. Then according to composition they drew him forth, and led him to the fire, where his men were slaine. Diligently they chafed his benummed limbes; and he gave Opechankanough a round Ivory double compassed Diall. They much marvelled at the playing of the flye which they could see and not touch, by reason of the Glasse cover; but when he had read a Cosmographicall lecture to them of the Skies, Earth, Day, and night, with the varietie of Nations, and such like, they were all amazed: notwithstanding which sudden wonder, they tide him to a tree within an houre after, as many as could stand about him prepared their fatall Arrowes to his death, which were all laid downe when Opechankanough held up the said Diall: and they led him in a kinde of triumph to Oropaxe.

Cap. Smith assalted and taken.

Diall admired of Savages.

Savage triumph, disciplin and gallantry.

Their order was this: drawing themselves all in file, the King in the midst had all their Peeces and Swords borne before him: Captaine Smith was led after him by three great lubbers, holding him fast; on each side went six in file, with their Arrowes nocked. When they arrived at the Towne (which was of thirty or forty hunting houses made of Mats, removed at pleasure, as Tents with us)

the women and children came to stare on him; the Souldiers in file had their Sargiants to keepe them in order. A good while they thus continued, and then cast themselves into a ring, dancing in severall postures, and singing hellish noates, strangely painted, each having his Quiver of Arrowes, and at his backe a Clubbe; on his arme a Foxes or Otters Skinne for his vambrace, their heads and shoulders painted red with Oyle and Pocones mingled together, his Bowe in his hand, and the Skinne of a Bird, with her wings abroad, dried, tied on his head, with a peece of Copper, a white Shell, a long Fether, and a small Rattle growing at the taile of their Snakes, or some such toy fastened thereto. All this while Smith stood with the King guarded in the midst, till three dances being done, they departed. Then did they conduct Smith to a long house, where thirty or forty men guarded him, and soone after was brought more Bread and Venison then would have served twenty: what he left they put in Baskets and tied over his head, which about midnight they againe set before him, none of them eating ought with him, till having brought as much more the next morning, they did eate the old, and reserved the new in like manner. Hee thought they intended to fat and eate him.

Their feasting-cheere.

One Maocassater, in requitall of Beads which he had given him, brought him his Gowne to defend him from the cold. Another was possessed with a contrary humour, and would have slaine him for the death of his sonne, had not the guard prevented; to him, yet breathing his last, they brought him to recover him. Smith told them that at James Towne he had a water that would doe it, if they would let him fetch it. But they prepared to assault James Towne, promising him liberty, and women, if he would assist them. In part of a Table Booke he writ his minde to those which were at the Fort; that they should send such things mentioned. They went in bitter weather for Frost and Snow, and seeing men sally out, as he had before told them, they fled; but comming

Savage simplicity.

againe in the night to the place which he had appointed, for an answer, they found things ready, and speedily returned, as if either he had divined, or the paper had spoken.

After this, they led him to the Youghtanunds, the Matapanients, the Payankatiks, the Nantaughtacunds, the Onanmanients, upon the Rivers of Rapahanocke, and Patanomecke, and backe againe by divers other Nations, to the Kings habitation at Pamaunk, where they entertained him with strange conjurations. Earely in a morning a great fire was made in a long house, a Mat spred on each side; on one of which he was set, the guard went out, and in came a great grim fellow skipping, all painted with cole mingled with Oyle, many Snakes and Weesels skins stuffed with Mosse, their tailes tied together, and meeting on the crowne of his head; round about the tassell was a coronet of Fethers; the skins hung round about his head, shoulders, backe and face: With a hellish voyce, strange gestures and passions, with a Rattle in his hand, hee began his invocation, and environed the fire with a circle of Meale. After this, three such other divels rushed in with like trickes, painted halfe blacke, halfe red, all their eyes painted white, with some red stroakes along their cheekes. These having danced a prettie while, three more came in as ugly as the rest, with red eyes and white stroakes over their blacke faces. At last they all sat downe right against him, the chiefe Priest in the midst, and three on each hand. All then with their Rattles began a song; which ended, the chiefe Priest laid downe five Wheate cornes: and straining his armes and hand with such violence, that he swet, and his veines swelled: hee began a short Oration; at the conclusion whereof they gave a short groane, and then laid downe three graines more. Now they began their Song againe, and then another Oration, ever laying downe so many cornes as before, till they had twice encircled the fire. That done, they take a bunch of little stickes, prepared for that purpose, and at the end of every Song and Oration

Rites of Conjuration.

[IV. ix. 1709.]

laid downe a sticke betwixt the divisions of the Corne. Till night, neither he nor they did eate or drinke, and then they feasted merrily with their best provisions. Three dayes they used this Ceremonie, thereby to know (as they said) whether hee intended them well or no. The circle of meale signified their Countrey, the two circles of Corne the Sea-bounds; and the stickes his Countrey. They imagined the World to be flat and round like a trencher, and themselves in the midst. After this, they brought him a bigge of Powder, which they carefully preserved till the next spring, to plant as they did their Corne, because they would be acquainted with the nature of that seede. *Savage Geography.* *Gunpowder sowne.*

Opitchapam the Kings brother, invited him to his house, where hee welcommed him with as many Platters of Bread, Fowle and wilde Beasts, as did encompasse him: but not any would eate with him, reserving the remainders in Baskets. At his returne to Opechankanoughs, all the Kings women and their children flocked about him, as for their customary due, to be merry with such fragments. At last they brought him to Werowocomoco to Pohatan, where above two hundred of his Courtiers stood wondring on him, till Pohatan and his traine had put themselves in their greatest bravery. Before a fire hee sat on a seate like a bedsted, covered with a great robe made of Rarowcun Skinnes, all the tailes hanging by: on each hand did sit a yong wench of sixteene or eighteene yeeres of age; along on each side the house two rowes of men, and behinde them as many women, with all their heads and shoulders painted red, many of their heads bedecked with the white downe of Birds, every one adorned with some thing, a great chaine also of white Beades about their neckes. At his entrance before the King all the people gave a great shout. The Queene of Appanatucke was appointed to bring water to wash his hands, another brought him a bunch of Feathers instead of a Towell to drie them. Having feasted him in their best manner, they held a consultation, in conclusion whereof, two great *He is brought to Pohatan.* *Wilde royalty.*

stones were brought before Pohatan, and as many as could lay hold on him dragged him to them, and thereon laid his head, being ready with their clubbes to beate out his braines. Pocahuntas the Kings dearest Daughter, when no intreatie would prevaile, got his head into her armes, and laid her owne upon his to save him from death: whereupon the Emperour was contented hee should live to make him Hatchets, and Beads, Bels, and Copper for her. For they thought him like themselves, of all occupations; the King himselfe making his owne Robes, Shooes, Bowes, Arrowes, Pots, Planting also, Hunting, and doing Offices, no lesse then the rest.

Pocahuntas saveth his life.

All men of all occupations.

Two dayes after, Pohatan having disguised himselfe in the dreadfullest manner, caused Captaine Smith to be brought forth to a great house in the woods, and there upon a Mat by the fire to bee left alone. Not long after from behinde a Mat which divided the house, was made the dolefullest noise that ever hee had heard. After this Pohatan with twenty more as blacke as himselfe came unto him, and told him that they were now friends, and presently hee should goe to James Towne to send him two great Gunnes and a Grindstone, for which hee would give him the Countrey of Capahowosick, and for ever esteeme him as his Sonne Nantaquaus. Hee sent him thither with twelve guides. When they came to the Fort, Smith used the Savages kindely, and shewed Rawhunt, Pohatans trusty servant two Demiculverins and a Milstone to carry to Pohatan; somewhat too heavie for their carriage. But when they saw him discharge them loden with stones, on the boughes of a great tree hanging full of isickles, the Ice and boughes comming downe with such furie, the Savages were halfe dead with feare; and at last returning contented with toies and presents for Pohatan, his women and children. This his returning safe to the Port, once more staied the Pinnace her flight for England, which till his returne, could not set saile, so extreame was the weather, and so great the Frost.

The third project to abandon the Fort.

His relation of the plenty he had seene, especially at

Werowocomoco, where inhabited Powhatan (that till that time was unknowne) so revived againe their dead spirits, as all mens feare was abandoned, Powhatan having sent with this Captaine divers of his men loaded with provision, hee had conditioned, and so appointed his trustie Messengers to bring but two or three of our great Ordnances; but the Messengers being satisfied with the sight of one of them discharged, ran away amazed with feare, till meanes were used with gifts to assure them our loves.

The arrivall of the first supply with their proceedings and returne. Chap. 3.

ALl this time our cares were not so much to abandon the Countrie, but the Treasurer and Counsell in England, were as diligent and carefull to supply us. Two tall Shippes they sent us, with neere one hundred men, well furnished with all things could be imagined necessary, both for them and us. The one commanded by Captaine Newport: the other by Captaine Nelson, an honest man and an expert Marriner, but such was the leewardnesse of his Ship (that though he were within sight of Cape Henry) by stormy contrary windes, was forced so farre to Sea, as the West Indies was the next land for the repaire of his Masts, and reliefe of wood and water. But Captaine Newport got in, and arrived at James Towne, not long after the redemption of Captaine Smith, to whom the Savages every other day brought such plenty of Bread, Fish, Turkies, Squirrels, Deere, and other wilde Beasts, part they gave him as presents from the King; the rest, he as their market Clarke set the price how they should sell.

The Phenix from Cape Henry forced to the West Indies.

So he had inchanted those poore soules (being their Prisoner) in demonstrating unto them the roundnesse of the World, the course of the Moone and Starres, the cause of the day and night, the largenesse of the Seas, the qualities of our ships, shot and powder: The division of the World, with the diversitie of people, their complexions, customes and conditions. All which he fained to be under the command of Captaine Newport, whom

[IV. ix. 1710.]

How C. Smith got his liberty.

he termed to them his Father; of whose arrivall, it chanced he so directly prophecied, as they esteemed him an Oracle; by these fictions he not only saved his owne life, and obtained his liberty; but had them at that command, he might command them what he listed. That God that created all these things; they knew he adored for his God, whom they would also tearme in their Discourses, the God of Captaine Smith.

Their opinion of our God.

The President and Councell so much envied his estimation amongst the Savages (though wee all in generall equally participated with him of the good thereof) that they wrought it into their understandings, by their great bountie in giving foure times more for their Commodities then he appointed, that their greatnesse and authoritie, as much exceeded his, as their bountie and liberalitie; Now the arrivall of his first supply, so over-joyed us, that wee could not devise too much to please the Mariners. Wee gave them libertie to trucke or trade at their pleasures. But in a short time, it followed, that that could not be had for a pound of Copper, which before was sold for an ounce. Thus Ambition and Sufferance, cut the throat of our Trade, but confirmed their opinion of Newports greatnesse wherewith Smith had possessed Powhatan) especially by the great Presents Newport often sent him, before he could prepare the Pinnace to goe and visit him; so that this Savage also desired to see him. A great brute there was to set him forward: when hee went he was accompanied, with Captaine Smith, and Master Scrivener a very wise understanding Gentleman newly arrived, and admitted of the Councell, and thirtie or fortie chosen men for that guard. Arriving at Werowocomo, Newports conceit of this great Savage bred many doubts and suspicions of Treacheries; which Smith, to make appeare was needlesse, with twentie men well appointed, undertooke to encounter (with that number) the worst that could happen.

Folly in undervaluing our Commodities to the Savages by gifts or small prizes. Another folly in Mariners trade both which supplanted the good of the plantation.

Smiths revisiting Powhatan.

These being kindly received ashore, with two or three hundred Savages were conducted to their Towne; Pow-

hatan strained himselfe to the uttermost of his greatnesse to entertaine us, with great shouts of Joy, Orations of protestations, and the most plentie of victuall hee could provide to feast us. Sitting upon his Bed of Mats, his Pillow of Leather imbroydered (after their rude manner) with Pearle and white Beads, his Attire a faire Robe of skinnes as large as an Irish Mantle, at his head and feet a handsome young woman; on each side his house sate twentie of his Concubines, their heads and shoulders painted red, with a great chaine of white Beads about their neckes, before those sate his chiefest men in like order in his Arbor-like house. With many pretie Discourses to renue their old acquaintance; the great King and our Captaine spent the time till the ebbe left our Barge aground, then renuing their Feasts and mirth, we quartred that night with Powhatan: the next day Newport came ashore, and received as much content as those people could give him, a Boy named Tho. Savage was then given unto Powhatan, whom Newport called his Sonne, for whom Powhatan gave him Namontacke his trustie Servant, and one of a shrewd subtill capacitie. Three or foure dayes were spent in feasting, dancing and trading, wherein Powhatan carried himselfe so proudly, yet discreetly (in his Savage manner) as made us all admire his naturall gifts considering his education, as scorning to trade as his subjects did, hee bespake Newport in this manner. Captaine Newport it is not agreeable with my greatnesse in this pedling manner to trade for trifles, and I esteeme you a great Weroans, Therefore lay mee downe all your Commodities together, what I like, I will take, and in recompence give you that I thinke fitting their value. Captaine Smith being our Interpreter, regarding Newport as his Father, knowing best the disposition of Powhatan told us his intent was but to cheat us; yet Captaine Newport thinking to out-brave this Savage in ostentation of greatnesse, and so to bewitch him with his bountie, as to have what he listed; but so it chanced: Powhatan having his desire, valued his Corne at such a

Powhatans first entertainment of our men. I have by me a large Journall of this journie: but content my selfe with this briefer to avoid prolixity.

The exchange of a Christian for a Savage.

Powhatans speech.

rate, as I thinke it better cheape in Spaine, for we had not foure bushels for that we expected twentie Hogsheads. This bred some unkindnesse betweene our two Captaines, Newport seeking to please the humour of the unsatiable Savage; Smith to cause the Savage to please him, but smothering his distaste (to avoid the Savages suspition) glanced in the eyes of Powhatan many Trifles who fixed his humour upon a few blue Beads; A long time he importunately desired them, but Smith seemed so much the more to affect them, so that ere we departed, for a pound or two of blue Beads he brought over my King for two or three hundred bushels of Corne, yet parted good friends. The like entertainment we found of Opechantynough King of Pamaunke whom also he in like manner fitted, (at the like rates) with blue Beads: and so wee returned to the Fort. Where this new supply being lodged with the rest, accidentally fired the quarters, and so the Towne, which being but thatched with Reeds, the fire was so fierce as it burnt their Pallizadoes (though ten or twelve yards distant) with their Armes, Bedding, Apparell, and much private provision. Good Master Hunt our Preacher lost all his Librarie, and all that hee had (but the clothes on his backe) yet none ever saw him repine at his losse. Upon any alarme he would be as readie for defence as any, and till he could speake; he never ceassed to his utmost to animate us constantly to persist: whose soule questionlesse is with God. This happened in the Winter, in that extreme Frost 1607. Now though we had victuall sufficient, I meane, only of Oate-meale, Meale, and Corne, yet the ship staying there fourteene weekes, when she might as well have beene gone in fourteene dayes, spent the Beefe, Porke, Oyle, Aquavitæ, Fish, Butter, and Cheese, Beere and such like; as was provided to be landed us. When they departed, what their discretion could spare us, to make a Feast or two with Bisket, Porke, Beefe, Fish, and Oyle, to rellish our mouthes, of each somewhat they left us, yet I must confesse, those that had either Money, spare Clothes,

Difference of opinions.

James Towne burnt.

Master Hunts losse.

[IV. ix. 1711.]

A ship idly loitring fourteen weekes, and shamefully abusing the company here and Colonie there for private lucre.

credit to give Bils of payment, Gold Rings, Furres, or any such Commodities were ever welcome to this remooving Taverne; such was our patience to obey such vile Commanders, and buy our owne provision at fifteene times the value, suffering them to feast (we bearing the charge) yet must not repine, but fast; and then leakage, ship-rats, and other casualties occasioned the lost, but the vessell and remnants (for totals) we were glad to receive with all our hearts to make up the account, highly commending their Providence for preserving that. For all this plentie our ordinarie was but meale and water, so that this great charge little relieved our wants, whereby with the extremitie of the bitter cold Aire more then halfe of us died, and tooke our deaths, in that piercing Winter.

I cannot deny, but both Scrivener and Smith did their best to amend what was amisse, but with the President went the major part, that their hornes were too short. But the worst mischiefe was, our gilded Refiners with their golden promises, made all men their slaves in hope of recompence; there was no talke, no hope, no worke, but digge Gold, wash Gold, refine Gold, load Gold, such a brute of Gold, as one mad fellow desired to bee buried in the Sands, least they should by their Art make Gold of his bones: Little need there was and lesse reason, the shippe should stay, their wages runne on, our victuall consume fourteene weekes, that the Mariners might say, they built such a golden Church, that we can say, the raine washed neere to nothing in fourteene dayes. Captaine Smith would not applaud all those Golden inventions, never any thing did more torment him, then to see all necessary businesse neglected, to fraught such a drunken ship with so much gilded * dirt; till then we never accounted Captaine Newport a Refiner; who being fit to set saile for England, and we not having any use of Parliaments, Playes, Petitions, Admirals, Recorders, Interpreters, Chronologers, Courts of Plea, nor Justices of Peace, sent Master Wingfield and

The effect of meere Verbalists. A needlesse charge.

**Certaine shining yellow sand which was sent over (I saw it) with great promises of gold, like the promisers yeelding sandy performance.*

Captaine Archer with him for England, to seeke some place of better imployment.

The arrival of the Phœnix her returne, and other accidents. Chap. 4.

The repairing of James towne.

Nelsons honesty and fidelitie.

THe authority now consisting in refining Captaine Martin, and the still sickly President, the sale of the stores Commodities maintayned their estates as inheritable Revenues. The Spring approching, and the ship departed, Master Scrivener and Captaine Smith divided betwixt them, the rebuilding our Towne, the repayring our Pallisadoes, the cutting downe Trees, preparing our fields, planting our Corne, and to rebuild our Church, and recover our Storehouse; all men thus busie at their severall labours, Master Nelson arrived with his lost Phœnix, (lost I say, for that all men deemed him lost) landing safely his men; so well hee mannaged his ill hap, causing the Indian Iles to feed his company that his victuall (to that was left us before) was sufficient for halfe a yeere, he had nothing but he freely imparted it; which honest dealing (in a Mariner) caused us admire him, wee would not have wished so much as he did for us. Now to relade this ship with some good tydings. The President (yet not standing with his dignity to leave the Fort) gave order to Captaine Smith and Master Scrivener to discover and search the Commodities of Monacans Countrey beyond the Falls, sixty able men were allotted, the which within sixe dayes exercise, Smith had so well trained to their Armes and Orders, that they little feared with whom they should encounter. Yet so unseasonable was the time, and so opposite was Captaine Martin to every thing, but only to fraught his ship also with his phantasticall Gold, as Captaine Smith rather desired to relade her with Cedar, which was a present dispatch; then either with dirt, or the reports of an uncertaine Discoverie. Whilst their conclusion was resolving, this happened.

Sixtie appointed to discover Monacan.

Powhatan to expresse his love to Newport, when he departed, presented him with twenty Turkeyes, conditionally to returne him twenty Swords, which immediately were sent him; Now after his departure he presented

Captaine Smith with the like luggage, but not finding his humour obeyed in sending him Weapons, he caused his people with twentie devices to obtaine them; at last by Ambuscadoes at our very Ports they would take them perforce, surprize us at worke, or any way, which was so long permitted that they became so insolent, there was no Rule, the command from England was so straight not to offend them, as our authority Bearers (keeping their houses) would rather be any thing then Peace-breakers: this uncharitable charity prevailed, till well it chanced that they medled with Captaine Smith, who without farther deliberation gave them such an incounter, as some hee so hunted up and downe the Ile, some hee so terrified with whipping, beating and imprisonment, as for revenge they surprized two of his foraging disorderly Souldiers, and having assembled their forces, boldly threatned at our Ports to force Smith to re-deliver seven Savages, which for their villanies he detained Prisoners. But to try their furies, in lesse then halfe an houre he so hampered their insolencies, that they brought the two prisoners desiring peace without any farther composition for their Prisoners, who being threatned and examined their intents and plotters of their villanies, confessed they were directed only by Powhatan, to obtaine him our owne weapons to cut our owne throats, with the manner how, where, and when, which we plainly found most true and apparant. Yet hee sent his Messengers and his deerest Daughter Pocahuntas to excuse him, of the injuries done by his Subjects, desiring their liberties, with the assurance of his love. After Smith had given the Prisoners what correction he thought fit, used them well a day or two after, he then delivered them to Pocahuntas, for whose sake only hee fained to save their lives and grant them liberty. The patient counsell, that nothing would moove to warre with the Savages, would gladly have wrangled with Captaine Smith for his cruelty, yet none was slaine to any mans knowledge, but it brought them in such feare and obedience, as his very name would sufficiently

An ill example to sell swords to Savages. Powhatans trecherie.

The Governours weaknesse.

Smiths attempt to suppresse the Savages insolencies. [IV. ix. 1712.]

Powhatans exercises.

A ship fraught with Cedar.

affright them. The fraught of this ship being concluded to be Cedar, by the diligence of the Master, and Captaine Smith, shee was quickly reladed; Master Scrivener was neither idle nor slow to follow all things at the Fort, the ship falling to the Cedar Ile, Captaine Martin having made shift to bee sicke neere a yeere, and now, neither Pepper, Sugar, Cloves, Mace, nor Nutmegs, Ginger, nor Sweet meats in the Countrey (to enjoy the credit of his supposed Art) at his earnest request, was most willingly admitted to returne for England, yet having beene there but a yeere, and not past halfe a yeere since the ague left him (that he might say somewhat he had seene) he went twice by water to Paspahegh a place neere seven miles from James Towne, but lest the dew should distemper him, was ever forced to returne before night. Thus much I thought fit to expresse, hee expresly commanding me to record his Journies, I being his man, and he sometimes my Master. One hundred and twentie were landed in the last supply. Thomas Studly. Anas Todkill.

The adventures of Cap. Martin.

The accidents which hapned in the discoverie of the Bay. Chap. 5. I have a Diarie of this and the following Discoverie of the Bay, contayning things more particularly & largely but I was loth to be tedious, & find the substance in this.

THe prodigalitie of the Presidents state went so deepe in the store that Smith and Scrivener had a while tyed both Martin and him to the Rules of Proportion, but now Smith being to depart, the Presidents authority so overswayed Master Scriveners discretion as our store, our time, our strength and labours were idely consumed to fulfill his phantasies. The second of June 1608. Smith left the Fort to performe his Discovery; with this company. Walter Russell Doctor of Physicke. Ralph Morton. Thomas Momford. William Cantrill. Richard Fetherstone. James Bourne. Michael Sicklemore. Anas Todkill. Robert Small. James Watkins. John Powell. James Read black Smith. Richard Keale Fishmonger. Jonas Profit fisher.

These being in an open Barge of two tunnes burthen leaving the Phœnix at Cape Henrie, we crossed the Bay to the Easterne shoare, and fell with the Iles called Smiths Iles: the first people we saw there were two grimme and

stout Savages upon Cape Charles, with long Poles like Javelings, headed with bone, they boldly demanded what we were, and what we would, but after many circumstances, they in time seemed very kind, and directed us to Acawmacke, the habitation of the Weroans where we were kindly intreated; this King was the comeliest proper civill Savage we incountred: his Country is a pleasant fertile clay soyle. He told us of a strange accident lately happened him, and it was? Two dead children by the extreme passions of their Parents, or some dreaming Visions, Phantasie, or affection mooved them againe to revisit their dead carkasses, whose benummed bodies reflected to the eyes of the beholders such pleasant delightfull countenances, as though they had regained their vitall spirits. This is a Miracle drew many to behold them, all which, (being a great part of his people) not long after died, and not any one escaped. They spake the Language of Powhatan, wherein they made such descriptions of the Bay, Iles, and Rivers that often did us exceeding pleasure. Passing alongst the Coast, searching every Inlet, and Bay fit for Harbours and Habitations, seeing many Iles in the midst of the Bay, we bore up for them, but ere we could attaine them, such an extreame gust of Winde, Raine, Thunder, and Lightning happened, that with great danger wee escaped the unmercifull raging of that Ocean-like water.

Cape Charles.

Acawmacke.

A strange mortalitie of Savages.

An extreame gust.

The next day searching those inhabitable Iles (which wee called Russells Iles) to provide fresh water, the defect whereof forced us to follow the next Easterne Channell, which brought us to the River Wighcocomoco, the people at first with great furie seemed to assault us, yet at last with Songs, Dances, and much mirth, became very tractable, but searching their habitations for water, we could fill but three, and that such puddle, that never till then, we knew the want of good water. We digged and searched many places, but ere the end of two dayes wee would have refused two Barricoes of Gold for one of that puddle water of Wighcocomoco. Being past these

Russels Iles.

Wighcocomoco.

An extreme want of fresh water.

Iles, falling with a high Land upon the Mayne, we found a great pond of fresh water, but so exceeding hot, that we supposed it some Bath: that place we called Point-ployer, in honour of that Honourable House of Mousaye, that in an extreame extremitie once robbed our Captaine: Beeing thus refreshed in crossing over from the Mayne to other Iles, the winde and waters so much increased with Thunder, Lightning, and Raine, that our fore-mast blew over-boord, and such mightie waves over-wrought us in that small Barge, that with great labour, wee kept her from sinking by freeing out the water: two dayes wee were inforced to inhabit these uninhabited Iles, which (for the extremitie of Gusts, Thunder, Raine, Stormes, and ill weather) we called Limbo. Repairing our fore-sayle with our shirts, we set sayle for the Mayne, and fell with a faire River on the East called Kuskaranaocke.

The Barge neere sunke in a gust.

Limbo Iles.

[IV. ix. 1713.]

Cap. Smith.

The people ran as amazed in troupes, from place to place, and divers got into the tops of Trees, they were not sparing of their Arrowes, nor the greatest passion they could expresse of anger, long they shot we still riding at an Anchor out of their reach, making all the signes of friendship wee could. The next day they came unarmed, with every one a Bisket, dancing in a ring to draw us on shore, but seeing there was nothing in them but villanie, we discharged a volley of Muskets charged with Pistoll shot, whereat they all lay tumbling on the ground, creeping some on way, some another into a great cluster of Reeds hard by, where their companions lay in Ambuscado. Towards the Evening wee weighed and approched the shore, discharging five or sixe shot amongst the Reeds we landed, where they laid a many of baskets, but saw not a Savage, a smoke appearing on the other side the River we went thither, where wee found two or three little Houses in each a fire, there we left some pieces of Copper, Beads, Bels, and Looking-glasses, and then went into the Bay. When it was darke we came to an Anchor againe. Earely in the morning, foure Savages came to us in their Canoa, whom we used with such courtesie, nor knew

what we were, nor had done, having beene in the Bay a fishing, bad us stay, and ere long they would returne, which they did, and some twentie more with them, with whom after a little conference, two or three hundred men, women, and children came clustering about us, every one presenting us somewhat, which a little Bead would so well requite, we became such friends, they would contend who should fetch us water, stay with us for hostage, conduct our men any whether, and give us the best content.

The first notice of the Massawomekes.

By it inhabit the people of Soraphanigh, Nause, Arsek, and Nautaquake, that much extolled a great Nation called Massawomekes, in search of whom wee returned by Limbo, but finding this Easterne shore shallow broken Iles, and the Mayne for most part without fresh water, we passed by the Straits of Limbo, for the Westerne shore. So broad is the Bay here, that we could scarce perceive the great high Cliffes on the other side; by them wee anchored that night, and called them Richards Cliffes. Thirtie leagues we sayled more Northwards, not finding any Inhabitants, yet the Coast well watered, the Mountaines very barren, the Valleyes very fertile, but the Woods extreme thicke, full of Wolves, Beares, Deere, and other wild Beasts. The first Inlet we found, we called Bolus, for that the clay (in many places) was like (if not) Bole-Armoniacke: when we first set saile, some of our Gallants doubted nothing, but that our Captaine would make too much hast home; but having lien not above twelve dayes in this small Barge, oft tyred at their Oares, their Bread spoyled with wet, so much that it was rotten (yet so good were their stomackes that they could digest it) did it with continuall complaints so importune him now to returne, as caused him bespeake them in this manner.

Bolus River.

Smiths speech to his souldiers.

Gentlemen, if you would remember the memorable Historie of Sir Ralfe Lane, how his company importuned him to proceed in the Discoverie of Morattico, alleaging, they had yet a Dogge, that beeing boyled with Saxafras leaves, would richly feed them in their returnes; what

a shame would it bee for you (that have beene so suspicious of my tendernesse) to force me returne with a moneths provision, scarce able to say where we have beene, nor yet heard of that we were sent to seeke; you cannot say but I have shared with you of the worst is past; and for what is to come of lodging, diet, or whatsoever, I am contented you allot the worst part to my selfe; as for your feares that I would lose my self in these unknown large waters, or be swallowed up in some stormie gust, abandon those childish feares, for worse then is past cannot happen, and there is as much danger to returne, as to proceed forward. Regaine therefore your old spirits; for returne I will not, (if God assist me) till I have seene the Massawomekes, found Patawomeck, or the head of this great water, you conceit to be endlesse.

Three or foure dayes we expected wind and weather, whose adverse extremities added such discouragements to our discontents as three or foure fell extreme sicke, whose pittifull complaints caused us to returne, leaving the Bay some ten miles broad at nine or ten fathome water. The sixteenth of June we fell with the River of Patawomeck: feare being gone, and our men recovered, we were all contented to take some paines to know the name of this nine miles broad River, we could see no Inhabitants for thirtie miles sayle; then we were conducted by two Savages up a little bayed Creeke toward Onawmament, where all the Woods were laid with Ambuscadoes to the number of three or foure hundred Savages, but so strangely painted, grimed, and disguized, shouting, yelling, and crying, as we rather supposed them so many Devils, they made many bravadoes, but to appease their furie, our Captaine prepared with as seeming willingnes (as they) to encounter them, the grazing of the bullets upon the River, with the Eccho of the woods so amazed them, as downe went their Bowes and Arrowes; (and exchanging hostage) James Watkins was sent sixe miles up the Woods to their Kings Habitation: wee were

The discoverie of Patawomeck.

Ambuscadoes of Savages.

kindly used by these Savages, of whom we understood, they were commanded to betray us, by Powhatans direction, and he so directed from the discontents of James Towne. The like incounters we found at Patawomecke, *A treacherous project.* Cecocawne, and divers other places, but at Moyaones Nacothtant and Taux, the people did their best to content us. The cause of this Discoverie, was to search a gilistering Mettall, the Savages told us they had from Patawomeck, (the which Newport assured that hee had tryed to hold halfe silver) also to search what Furres, Metals, Rivers, Rockes, Nations, Woods, Fishings, Fruits, Victuals and other Commodities the Land affoorded, and whether the Bay were endlesse, how farre [IV. ix. 1714.] it extended. The Mine we found nine or ten miles up in the Country from the River, but it proved of no value; *Antimony.* to which he marched, leading his hinds in Chaines, which they were to have for their paines, and so returning loded with that Ore they had. Some Otters, Bevers, Martins, Lizards, and Sabels we found, and in divers places that abundance of fish lying so thicke with their heads above *An abundant plenty fish.* the water, as for want of nets (our Barge driving amongst them) we attempted to catch them with a Frying-pan, but wee found it a bad instrument to catch fish with. Neither better fish, more plenty, or variety, had any of us ever seene, in any place swimming in the water, then in the Bay of Chesabeack, but there not to be caught with Frying-pans.

To expresse all our quarrels, treacheries, and incounters amongst those Savages, I should be too tedious; but in briefe, at all times we so incountred them and curbed their insolencies, as they concluded with presents to purchase peace, yet wee lost not a man. At our first meeting, our Captaine ever observed this order, to *How to deale with the Savages.* demand their Bowes and Arrowes, Sword, Mantles or Furs, with some childe for hostage; whereby he could quickly perceive when they intended any villanie. Having finished this discovery (though our victuall was neere spent) he intended to have seene his imprisonments,

acquaintance upon the River of Toppahannocke. But our Boate (by reason of the ebbe) chansing to ground upon a many shoules lying in the entrance, wee spied many fishes lurking amongst the weedes on the Sands, our Captaine sporting himselfe to catch them by nailing them to the ground with his Sword, set us all a fishing in that manner; by this devise, we tooke more in an houre, then we all could eate: but it chanced, the Captaine taking a fish from his Sword (not knowing her condition) being much of the fashion of a Thornebacke with a longer taile, whereon is a most poysoned sting of two or three inches long, which shee strooke an inch and halfe into the wrist of his arme the which in foure houres had so extreamely swolne his hand, arme, shoulder, and part of his body, as wee all with much sorrow concluded his funerall, and prepared his grave in an Ile hard by (as himselfe appointed) which then wee called Stingeray Ile, after the name of the fish. Yet by the helpe of a precious Oyle which Doctour Russells applied, ere night his tormenting paine was so well asswaged that hee eate the fish to his supper, which gave no lesse joy and content to us, then ease to himselfe. Having neither Surgeon nor Surgery but that preservative Oyle, we presently set saile for James Towne; passing the mouth of Pyankatanck, and Pamaunke Rivers, the next day we safely arrived at Kecoughtan. The simple Savages, seeing our Captaine hurt, and another bloudy (which came by breaking his shin) our number of Bowes, Arrowes, Swords, Targets, Mantles and Furres; would needes imagine wee had bin at warres, the truth of these accidents would not satisfie them, but impatiently they importuned us to know with whom wee fought, finding their aptnesse to beleeve, we failed not (as a great secret) to tell them any thing that might affright them, what spoyle wee had got and made of the Masawomeckes, this rumour went faster up the River then our Barge; that arrived at Weraskoyack the twentieth of July, where trimming her with painted streamers, and such devises, we made the Fort jealous of

A Stingray very hurtfull, one in Foulenes was so swolne with the sting of a Ray thorow his thicke fishermans-boots, that he therof died, An. 1613. *and was so swolne that they could not bring his coffin out of the dore but brake the wall (as they told me) for that purpose. The Savages affrighted with their owne suspition.*

a Spanish Frigot; where we all safely arrived the twenty one of July.

There we found the last supply, all sicke, the rest, some lame, some bruised, all unable to doe any thing, but complaine of the pride and unreasonable needelesse cruelty of their silly President, that had riotously consumed the store, and to fulfill his follies about building him an unnecessary Pallace in the Woods, had brought them all to that misery: That had not we arrived, they had as strangely tormented him with revenge. But the good newes of our discovery, and the good hope we had (by the Savages relation) our Bay had stretched to the South Sea, appeased their furie; but conditionally that Ratliffe should be deposed, and that Captaine Smith would take upon him the government: their request being effected, hee Substituted Master Scrivener his deare friend in the Presidencie, equally distributing those private provisions that the other had ingrossed; appointing more honest officers to assist Scrivener (who then lay extreamely tormented with a callenture) and in regard of the weakenesse of the company, and heate of the yeare, they being unable to worke; he left them to live at ease, but imbarked himselfe to finish his discovery. Written by Walter Russell and Anas Todkill.

A needelesse misery.

The Company left to live at ease.

THe twentieth of July Captaine Smith set forward to finish the discovery with twelve men their names were Nathaniell Powell, Thomas Momford, Richard Fetherstone, Michaell Sicklemore, James Bourne, Anas Todkill, Edward Pysing, Richard Keale, Anthony Bagnall, James Watkins, William Ward, Jonas Profit. The winde being contrary caused our stay two or three daies at Kecoughtan, the Werowans feasting us with much mirth, his people were perswaded wee went purposely to be revenged of the Massawomeckes, in the evening we firing two or three rackets, so terrified the poore Salvages, they supposed nothing impossible we attempted, and desired to assist us. The first night we ancored at Stingeray Ile,

What hapned the second voiage to discover the Bay. Chap. 6.

The Savages admire fireworkes.

the next day crossed Patawomecks River, and hasted for the River Bolus, we went not much farther before wee might perceive the Bay to devide in two heads, and arriving there wee found it devided in foure, all which wee searched so farre as we could saile them; two of them we found uninhabited, but in crossing the Bay to the other, we encountered seven or eight Canoaes full of Massawomeckes, wee seeing them prepare to assault us, left our Oares and made way with our saile to incounter them, yet were we but five (with our Captaine) that could stand: for within two dayes after wee left Kecoughtan, the rest (being all of the last supply) were sicke almost to death (untill they were seasoned to the Countrey) having shut them under our tarpawling, we put their hats upon stickes by the Barge side to make us seeme many; and on each side a man a loded Musket; and so wee thinke the Indians supposed those hats to be men, for they fled withall possible speede to the shoare, and there stayed, staring at the sailing of our Barge, till wee anchored right against them. Long it was ere we could draw them to come unto us, at last they sent two of their company unarmed in a Canoa, the rest all followed to second them if neede required: These two being but each presented with a Bell, brought aboord all their fellowes, presenting the Captaine with Venison, Beares flesh, Bowes, Arrowes, Clubbes, Targets, and Beare-skins, we understood them nothing at all but by signes, whereby they signified unto us that they had beene at warres with the Tockwoghs, the which they confirmed by shewing their green wounds; but the night parting us, we imagined they appointed the next morning to meete, but after that we never saw them.

The head of the Bay.

[IV. ix. 1715.]

An incounter with the Massawomecks.

Good policy.

An incounter with the Tockwoghs.

Entring the River of Tockwogh the Savages all armed in a fleete of Boates round invironed us; it chanced one of them could speake the language of Powhatan, who perswaded the rest to a friendly parley: but when they saw us furnished with the Massawomeckes weapons, and we fained the invention of Kecoughtan to have taken them perforce; they conducted us to their pallizadoed

Towne, mantelled with the Barkes of trees, with Scaffolds like Mounts, brested about with Barkes very formally, their men, women, and children, with Dances, Songs, Fruits, Fish, Furres, and what they had kindely entertained us, spreading Mats for us to sit on, stretching their best abilities to expresse their loves.

Hatchets from Sasquesahanock.

Many Hatchets, Knives, and peeces of Iron, and Brasse, we saw, which they reported to have from the Sasquesahanockes a mighty people, and mortall enemies with the Massawomeckes: The Sasquesahanocks, inhabit upon the chiefe Spring of these foure, two dayes journey higher then our Barge could passe for Rockes. Yet we prevailed with the interpreter to take with him another interpreter to perswade the Sasquesahanocks to come to visite us, for their language is different: three or foure dayes we expected their returne, and then sixty of these Gyantlike people came downe with presents of Venison, Tobacco-pipes, Baskets, Targets, Bowes and Arrowes, five of their Werowances came boldly aboord us, to crosse the Bay for Tockwogh, leaving their men and Canoaes, the winde being so violent that they durst not passe.

Our order was daily to have prayer, with a Psalme; at which solemnity, the poore Savages much wondered: our prayers being done, they were long busied with consultation till they had contrived their businesse; then they began in most passionate manner to hold up their hands to the sunne with a most fearefull song, then imbracing the Captaine, they began to adore him in like manner, though he rebuked them, yet they proceeded till their Song was finished, which done with a most strange furious action, and a hellish voyce began an Oration of their loves: that ended, with a great painted Beares skinne they covered our Captaine, then one ready with a chaine of white Beades (weighing at least six or seven pound) hung it about his necke, the others had eighteene mantles made of divers sorts of Skins sowed together, all these with many other toyes, they laid at his feete, stroking their ceremonious hands about his necke for his creation

The Sasquesahanocks offer to the English.

to be their Governour, promising their aides, victuals, or what they had to be his, if he would stay with them to defend and revenge them of the Massawomeckes. But we left them at Tockwogh, they much sorrowing for our departure, yet we promised the next yeare againe to visit them; many descriptions and discourses they made us of Atquanahucke, Massawomecke, and other people, signifying they inhabited the River of Cannida, and from the French to have their Hatchets, and such like tooles by trade, these know no more of the territories of Powhatan then his name, and he as little of them.

Cannida.

Thus having sought all the Inlets and Rivers worth noting, we returned to discover the River of Pawtuxunt; these people we found very tractable, and more civill then any, wee promised them, as also the Patawomeckes, the next yeare to revenge them of the Massawomeckes.

Pawtuxunt R.

In the discovery of this River, which some call Rapahanocke, others Tapahanocke; we were kindely entertained by the people of Moraughtacun: here we encountred our old friend Mosko, a lustie Savage of Wighcocomoco, upon the River of Patawomecke, wee supposed him some Frenchmans Sonne, because he had a thicke, blacke, bush Beard, and the Savages seldome have any at all, of which hee was not a little proud to see so many of his Countrie men: wood, and water hee would fetch us, guide us any whether, nay cause divers of his Countrie men to helpe us too, against winde or tyde, from place to place, till we came to Patawomeke. There he rested, till we returned from the head of the River, and then occasioned us conduct to the Mine, which we supposed Antimony. Now in this place hee failed not to doe us all the good he could, perswading us in any case not to goe to the Rapahanocks, for they would kill us, for being friends with the Moraughlacuds, that but lately had stolne three of the Kings women. This we did thinke was but that his friends might onely have our trade, & so crossed the River to the Rapahanocks: there some twelve or sixteene standing on the shore, directed us to a little

The exceeding love of the Savage Mosco.

Mine of Antimony.

narrow cricke, where was good landing, and commodities for us, in three or foure Canoaes which we saw there. But according to our custome, we demanded to exchange a man, in signe of love, which after they had a little consulted, foure or five came to the middles to fetch our man, and leave us one of them, shewing we neede not feare them, for they had neither Clubs, Bowes, nor Arrowes: notwithstanding Anas Todkill being sent on shore to see if he could discover any ambuscados; desired to goe over the plaine to fetch some wood, but they were unwilling, except we would come into the creeke, where the Boate might come close a shore. Todkill by degrees having gotten some two stones throwes up the plaine, perceived two or three hundred men as he thought behinde the trees, so that offering to returne to the Boate, the Savages assayed to carry him away perforce he called to us, we were betraid, and by that he had spoken the word, our hostage was overboord, but Watkins his keeper slew him in the water, immediately we let fly amongst them so that they fled, & Todkill escaped, yet they shot so fast that he fell flat on the ground ere he could recover the Boate: here the Massawomecks Targets stood us in good stead, for upon Moscos words we had set them about the forepart of our Boate like a fore-castell, from whence we securely beate the Savages from off the plaine without any hurt, yet they shot more then 1000. Arrowes, and then fled into the woods, arming our selves with those light Targets (which are made of little small sticks, woven betwixt strings of their hempe and silke grasse, as is our cloth, but so firmly, that no Arrow can possibly pierce them) we rescued Todkill, who was bloudied by some of them that were shot, but as it pleased God, he had no hurt, and followed them up to the woods, we found some wounded, some slaine, & in divers places much bloud: it seemes all their Arrows were spent, for we hard no more of them: their Canoas we tooke, the Arrowes which we found we broke, except those we kept for Mosco, to whom we gave the Canoaes for his kindnes, that entertained us

Our fight with the Tapahonecks.

in the best triumphing manner and warlike order in armes he could procure of the Moroughtacunds.

The Savages disguised like bushes, fight.

The rest of the day wee spent in accommodating our Boate, instead of tholes we made stickes like bed-staves, to which we fastned so many of our Massawomecke Targets, that invironed her as wastcloathes: the next morning we went up the River, and our friend Mosco followed us along the shoare, but at last desired to goe with us in our Boate. But as wee passed by Pisacacke, Machopeake and Wecuppom, three Townes scituated upon high white clay Clifts, the other side all a low plaine marish, and the River there but narrow, thirty or forty of the Rapahanockes had so prepared themselves with branches, as we tooke them for little Bushes growing amongst the Sedge: seeing their Arrowes strike the Targets and drop in the River, Mosco fell flat on his face, crying the Rapahanocks; which presently we espied to be the Bushes, which at our first Volley fell downe in the Sedge; when we were gone neere halfe a mile, they shewed themselves, dancing and singing very merrily. The Kings of Pissassacke, Naudtaughtacund and Cuttatawomen, used us kindely, and all the people neglected not any thing to Mosco to bring us to them. Betwixt Secobecke and Massatecke is a small Ile or two, which causeth the River to be broder then ordinary: there it pleased God to take one of our company, called M. Richard Fetherstone, that all the time hee had beene in the Country had behaved himselfe very honestly, valiantly, & industriously, where in a little Bay, called hereupon

Fetherstones Bay.

Fetherstones Bay, we buried him with a volly of shot, the rest notwithstanding their ill diet and bad lodging crouded in so small a Barge, in so many dangers never resting, but alwaies tossed to & againe, had all well recovered their healths. The next day we sailed so high as our Boat would flote, there setting up Crosses. Then we discovered the River of Payankatank, so high as it was Navigable, but the people were most a hunting, but a few old men, women and children, that were tending

their Corne; of which, they promised us part when wee would fetch it, as had done all the other Nations where ever we had yet beene. In a faire calme, rowing towards Point Comfort, wee anchored in Gusnolds Bay; but such a sodaine gust surprised us in the night, with thunder and raine, that wee never thought more to have seene James Towne; yet running before the winde, we sometimes see the Land by the flashes of fire from heaven, by which light onely wee kept from the splitting shoare, untill it pleased God in that blacke darkenesse to preserve us by that light to finde Point Comfort: there refreshing our selves, because wee had onely but heard of the Chisapearckes and Nandsamunds, wee thought it as fit to know all our Neighbours neere home, as so many Nations abroad. This wee did (the particulars are omitted) and arrived safe the seventh of September, 1608. where wee found Master Skrivener, and divers others well recovered, many dead, some sicke: The late President prisoner for muteny; by the honest diligence of Master Skrivener the harvest gathered, but the stores provision much spoiled with raine. Thus was that yeare (when nothing wanted) consumed and spent, and nothing done (such was the government of Captaine Ratcliffe) but onely this Discovery, wherein to expresse all the dangers, accidents, and incounters this small number passed in that small Barge, with such watrie diet in these great waters and barbarous Countries (till then to any Christian utterly unknowne) I rather referre their merit to the censure of the courteous and experienced Reader, then I would be tedious, or partiall, being a party. By Nathaniell Powell, and Anas Todkill.

For feare of tediousnesse I have left out the most. Their proceedings at James Towne.

The Presidency surrendered to Cap. Smith, the arrival and returne of the second supply: and what happened. Chap. 7.

THe tenth of September 1608. by the election of the Councell, and request of the Company, Captaine Smith received the Letters Patents, and tooke upon him the place of President, which till then by no meanes he would accept, though he were often importuned thereunto. Now the building of Ratcliffes Pallace was staid as a thing

needelesse. The Church was repaired, the Storehouse recovered; building prepared for the supply we expected. [IV. ix. 1717.] The Fort reduced to the forme of this figure, the order of watch renued, the squadrons (each setting of the watch) trained: The whole Company every Saturday exercised in a field prepared for that purpose; the Boates trimmed for trade, which in their journey encountred the second supply, that brought them backe to discover the Countrey of Monacan. How, or why, Captaine Newport obtained such a private Commission as not to returne without a lumpe of Gold, a certainty of the South-Sea or one of the lost Company of Sir Walter Rawley I know not, nor why he brought such a five pieced Barge, not to beare us to that South-Sea, till wee had borne her over the Mountaines (which how farre they extend is yet unknowne): as for the Coronation of Powhatan, and his Presents of Bason, Ewer, Bed, Cloathes, and such costly novelties, they had bin much better well spared then so ill spent. For we had his favour much better, onely for a poore peece of Copper, till this stately kinde of soliciting made him so much overvalue himselfe, that he respected us as much as nothing at all; as for the hiring of the Poles and Dutch to make Pitch and Tarre, Glasse, Mils, and Sope-ashes, was most necessary and well. But to send them and seventy more without victuall to worke, was not so well considered; yet this could not have hurt us, had they bin two hundred (though then we were one hundred and thirty that wanted for our selves.) For wee had the Savages in that order (their harvest being newly gathered) that we feared not to get victuall sufficient, had wee bin five hundred. Now was there no way to make us miserable, but to neglect that time to make our Provision, whilst it was to be had; the which was done to performe this strange Discovery, but more strange Coronation; to loose that time, spend that victuall wee had, tire and starve our men, having no meanes to carry victuall, munition, the hurt or sicke, but their owne backes, how or by whom they were invented, I know not; But Captaine Newport

The figure is left out.

Civility is not the way to win Savages, nor magnificence and bounty to reclaime Barbarians. Children are pleased with toyes and awed with rods; and this course of toies & feares hath always best prospered with wilde Indians either to doe them, or to make them good to us or themselves. This vanity of ours made Powhatan overvalue himselfe, his Corne, &c.

we onely accounted the author, who to effect these projects had so gilded all our hopes, with great promises, that both Company and Councell concluded his resolution. I confesse wee little understood then our estates, to conclude his conclusion, against all the inconveniences the foreseeing President alleadged. There was added to the Counsell one Captaine Waldo, and Captaine Winne, two ancient Souldiers and valiant Gentlemen, but ignorant of the businesse (being newly arrived) Ratcliffe was also permitted to have his voyce, and Master Scrivener desirous to see strange Countries, so that although Smith was President, yet the Counsell had the authority, and ruled it as they listed; as for cleering Smiths objections, how Pitch, and Tarre, Wanscot, Clapboord, Glasse, and Sope-ashes, could be provided to relade the Ship; or provision got to live with all, when none was in the Countrey, and that which we had, spent before the Shippes departed: The answere was, Captaine Newport undertooke to fraught the Pinnace with Corne, in going and returning in his Discovery, and to refraught her againe from Werowocomoco; also promising a great proportion of victuall from his Ship, inferring that Smiths propositions were onely devises to hinder his journey, to effect it himselfe; and that the cruelty Smith had used to the Savages, in his absence, might occasion them to hinder his designes: For which, all workes were left, and one hundred and twenty chosen men were appointed for his guard; and Smith, to make cleere these seeming suspitions, that the Savages were not so desperate, as was pretended by Captaine Newport, and how willing hee was to further them to effect their projects (because the Coronation would consume much time) undertooke their message to Powhatan, to intreate him to come to James Towne to receive his Presents, accompanied onely with Captaine Waldo, Master Andrew Buckler, Edward Brinton, and Samuell Collier; with these foure hee went over land, against Werawocomoco; there passed the River of Pamaunke in the Savages Canoaes, Powhatan being thirty miles off,

No way but one to overthrow the businesse.

Captain Smith with foure goeth to Powhatan.

who, presently was sent for, in the meane time his women entertained Smith in this manner.

The womens entertainment at Werawocomoco.

In a faire plaine field they made a fire, before which he sitting upon a Mat; suddenly amongst the woods was heard such a hideous noise and shriking, that they betooke them to their armes, supposing Powhatan with all his power came to surprise them; but the beholders which were many, men, women, and children, satisfied the Captaine there was no such matter, being presently presented with this anticke, thirty yong women came naked out of the woods (onely covered behinde & before with a few greene leaves) their bodies all painted, some white, some red, some blacke, some party colour, but every one different, their leader had a faire paire of Stagges hornes on her head, and another Skinne at her girdle, another at her arme, a quiver of Arrowes at her backe, and Bowes and Arrowes in her hand, the next in her hand a Sword, another a Clubbe, another a Pot-sticke, all hornd alike, the rest every one with their severall devises. These Feinds with most hellish cries and shouts rushing from amongst the trees, cast themselves in a ring about the fire, singing and dancing with excellent ill variety, oft falling into their infernall passions, and then solemnely againe to sing and dance. Having spent neere an houre in this Maskarado, as they entred, in like manner they departed. Having reaccommodated themselves, they solemnly invited Smith to their lodging, but no sooner was hee within the house, but all these Nimphes more tormented him then ever, with crowding, and pressing, and hanging upon him, most tediously crying, Love you not mee? This salutation ended, the feast was set, consisting of Fruite in Baskets, Fish and Flesh in woodden Platters, Beanes and Pease there wanted not (for twenty Hogges) nor any Savage daintie which their invention could devise; some attending, others singing and dancing about them: this mirth and banquet being ended, with Firebrands (instead of Torches) they conducted him to his lodging.

A wilde Diana Actæon in one person.

[IV. ix. 1718.]

The next day came Powhatan; Smith delivered his

Message of the Presents sent him, and redelivered him Namontacke, desiring him to come to his Father Newport to accept those Presents, and conclude their revenge against the Monacans: whereupon, the subtill Savage thus replyed: *Captain Smiths message.*

If your King have sent mee presents, I also am a King, and this my land; eight dayes I will stay to receive them; your Father is to come to mee, not I to him, nor yet to your Fort, neither will I bite at such a baite: as for the Monacans, I can revenge my owne injuries, and as for Aaquanuchucke, where you say your Brother was slaine, it is a contrary way from those parts you suppose it. But for any salt water beyond the Mountaines, the relations you have had from my people are false; whereupon he began to draw plots upon the ground (according to his discourse) of all those Regions: many other discourses they had (yet both desirous to give each other content in Complementall curtesies) and so Captaine Smith returned with this answer. *Powhatans answer.*

Upon this Captaine Newport sent his presents by water, which is neere one hundred miles, with fifty of the best shot, himselfe went by land, which is but twelve miles, where he met with our three Barges to transport him over. All things being fit for the day of his Coronation, the presents were brought, his Bason, Ewer, Bed and Furniture set up, his Scarlet Cloake and Apparell (with much adoe) put on him, being perswaded by Namontacke, they *Powhatans Coronation.*

So much was done to buy repentance with more cost then worship. If we seeke Savages we loose them, if wee force them to seeke us, wee shal finde these shadowes of men close at our feet. I have read more stories of them then perhaps any man, and finde that a cruell mercy in awing Savages to feare us is better then that mercifull cruelty, which by too much kindenes hath made us feare them, or else by too much confidence to loose our selves. Smith & Newport may by their examples teach the just course to be taken with such: the one breeding awe and dread, without Spanish or Panike terror, the other disgraced in seeking to grace with offices of humanity, those which are gracelesse. Neither doth it become us to use Savages with savagenesse, nor yet with too humaine usage, but in a middle path (medio tutissimus ibis) to goe and doe so that they may admire and feare us, as those whom God, Religion,

would doe him no hurt. But a soule trouble there was to make him kneele to receive his Crowne, he neither knowing the Majesty nor meaning of a Crowne, nor bending of the knee, indured so many perswasions, examples, and instructions, as tired them all: At last, by leaning hard on his shoulders, he a little stooped, so they put the Crowne on his head. When by the warning of a Pistoll, the Boates were prepared with such a Volly of shot, that the King start up in a horrible feare, till he see all was well, then remembring himselfe, to congratulate their kindenesse, he gave his old Shooes and his Mantle to Captaine Newport. But perceiving his purpose was to discover the Monacans, he laboured to divert his resolution, refusing to lend him either men or guides, more then Namontacke, and so (after some complementall kindenesse on both sides) in requitall of his presents, he presented Newport with a heape of Wheate eares, that might containe some seven or eight bushels, and as much more we bought ready dressed in the Towne, wherewith we returned to the Fort.

The Ship having disburdened her selfe of seventy persons, with the first Gentlewoman, and woman servant that arrived in our Colony; Captaine Newport with all the Counsell, and one hundred and twenty chosen men, set forward for the discovery of Monacan, leaving the President at the Fort with eighty (such as they were) to relade

Civility, and Art, have made so farre superior; yet to abuse them (unprovoked) as hostile slaves, or as meere beasts, with cruell and beastly severity, whom nature hath equally made men. This breedes desperate depopulations, as in the Spanish Indies hath been seene; that gentlenesse and unequall equity makes them proud and treacherous, as wofull experience hath taught in the late massacre. Our temperance and justice should be qualified with prudence and fortitude. Neither must wee make them beasts, nor yet value them as Christians, till we have made them such; and the way to make them Christian men, is first to make them civill men, to file off the rust of their humanity, which as children (the like in taming wilde Beasts) must be done with severe gentlenesse, and gentle severity, which may breede in them a loving awe, or awfull love, at least a just dread toward us, that feare may make them know us, and then the fault is ours if they see no cause to love us.

the Ship. Arriving at the fals, wee marched by land some forty miles in two dayes and a halfe; and so returned downe to the same path we went. Two Townes we discovered of the Monacans, the people neither using us well nor ill, yet for our security we tooke one of their petty Werowances, and led him bound, to conduct us the way. And in our returne searched many places we supposed Mines, about which we spent some time in refining, having one William Callicut a refiner, fitted for that purpose, from that crust of earth which we digged, he perswaded us to beleeve hee extracted some small quantity of Silver (and not unlikely some better stuffe might be had for the digging) with this poore triall being contented to leave this faire, fertill, well watered Country. Comming to the Fals, the Savages fained there were divers Ships come into the Bay to kill them at James Towne. Trade they would not, and finde their Corne we could not, for they had hid it in the woods, and being thus deluded we arrived at James Towne, halfe sicke, all complaining, and tired with toile, famine, and discontent, to have onely but discovered our gilded hopes, and fruitlesse certainties, as the President foretold us.

No sooner were we landed, but the President dispersed as many as were able, some for Glasse, others for Pitch, Tarre and Sope-ashes, leaving them (with the Fort) to the Councels oversight. But thirtie of us he conducted five miles from the Fort to learne to make clap-boord, cut downe Trees, and lie in Woods; amongst the rest he had chosen Gabriell Beadell, and John Russell the only two Gallants of this last supply, and both proper Gentlemen: strange were these pleasures to their conditions, yet lodging, eating, drinking, working, or playing, they doing but as the President, all these things were carried so pleasantly, as within a weeke they became Masters, making it their delight to heare the Trees thunder as they fell, but the Axes so oft blistered their tender fingers, that commonly every third blow had a lowd Oath to drowne the Eccho; for remedie of which sinne the President devised [IV. ix. 1719.]

how to have every mans Oathes numbred, and at night, for every Oath to have a Kan of water powred downe his sleeve, with which every Offender was so washed (himselfe and all) that a man should scarce heare an Oath in a Weeke.

A pretie punishment for swearing.

By this, let no man thinke that the President, or these Gentlemen spent their times as common Wood-hackers at felling of Trees, or such like other labours, or that they were pressed to any thing as hirelings or common slaves, for what they did (beeing but once a little inured) it seemed, and they conceited it only as a pleasure and a recreation. Yet thirtie or fortie of such voluntarie Gentlemen would doe more in a day then one hundred of the rest that must be prest to it by compulsion. Master Scrivener, Captaine Waldo, and Captaine Winne at the Fort, every one in like manner carefully regarded their charge. The President returning from amongst the Woods seeing the time consumed, and no provision gotten, (and the ship lay idle, and would do nothing) presently imbarked himselfe in the Discovery Barge, giving order to the Councell, to send Master Percie after him with the next Barge that arrived at the Fort; two Barges, he had himselfe, and twentie men, but arriving at Chickahamina, that dogged Nation was too well acquainted with our wants, refusing to trade, with as much scorne and insolencie as they could expresse. The President perceiving it was Powhatans policie to starve us, told them hee came not so much for their Corne, as to revenge his imprisonment, and the death of his men murdered by them, and so landing his men, and readie to charge them, they immediatly fled; but then they sent their Ambassadors, with corne, fish, fowle, or what they had to make their peace (their corne being that yeere bad) they complained extremely of their owne wants yet fraughted our Boates with one hundred bushels of Corne, and in like manner Master Percies, that not long after us arrived; they having done the best they could to content us, within foure or five dayes wee returned to James Towne.

One Gentleman better then twentie Lubbers.

The Chickahamines forced to contribution.

All this time our old Taverne, made as much of all them that had either Money or Ware as could be desired; and by this time they were become so perfect on all sides (I meane Souldiers, Saylers, and Savages) as there was ten times more care, to maintayne their damnable and private Trade, then to provide for the Colonie things that were necessarie, neither was it a small policie in the Mariners, to report in England wee had such plentie, and bring us so many men without victuall, when they had so many private Factors in the Fort, that within sixe or seven weekes after the ships returne, of two or three hundred Hatchets, Chissels, Mattockes, and Pick-axes scarce twentie could bee found, and for Pike-heads, Knives, Shot, Powder, or any thing they could steale from their fellowes was vendible; They knew as well (and as secretly) how to convay them to trade with the Savages, for Furres, Baskets, Mussaneekes, young beasts or such like Commodities, as to exchange them with the Saylers, for Butter, Cheese, Beefe, Porke, Aquavitæ, Beere, Bisket, and Oate-meale; and then faine, that all was sent them from their friends. And though Virginia affoord no Furres for the store, yet one Mariner in one Voyage hath got so many, as he hath confessed to have sold in England for thirtie pound. And for all this riot and Newports boasting to leave us for twelve monethes, though we had eightie nine by his Discoverie sicke and lame, which by one man for a pound of Copper might much better have beene done, and having but a pint of Corne a day for a man, we were constrained to give him three Hogsheads of that Corne to victuall his ship homeward.

A good tavern in Virginia.

A bad trade of Masters and Sailers.

Those are the Saint-seeming Worthies of Virginia, that have notwithstanding all this, meat, drinke, and pay, but now they beginne to grow wearie, their Trade beeing both perceived and prevented; none hath beene in Virginia (that hath observed any thing) which knowes not this to be true, and yet the scorne, and shame was the poore Souldiers, Gentlemen and carelesse Governours, who were all thus bought and sold, the Adventurers

coozened, and the action overthrowne by their false excuses, informations, and directions by this let all the World Judge, how this businesse could prosper, being thus abused by such pilfering occasions.

The proceedings and accidents, with the second supply.

Scriveners voyage to Werawocomoco.

Master Scrivener was sent with the Barges and Pinnace to Werawocomoco, where he found the Savages more readie to fight then trade, but his vigilancie was such, as prevented their projects, and by the meanes of Namontack got three or foure Hogsheads of Corne, and as much red paint which (then) was esteemed an excellent die.

Captaine Newport being dispatched with the tryals of Pitch, Tarre, Glasse, Frankincense, and Sope-ashes, with that Clapboord and Wainscot which could bee provided, met with Master Scrivener at Point Comfort, and so returned for England, leaving us in all two hundred, with those he brought us.

[IV. ix. 1720.] *Nansamund forced to contribution.*

Those poore conclusions so affrighted us all with famine; that the President provided for Nansamund, tooke with him Captaine Winne and Master Scrivener, (then returning from Captaine Newport) these people also long denied him Trade (excusing themselves to be so commanded by Powhatan) till we were constrained to begin with them perforce, and then they would rather sell us some, then we should take all; so loading our Boats, with one hundred bushels wee parted friends, and came to James Towne, at which time, there was a Marriage betweene John Laydon and Anna Burrowes, being the first Marriage we had in Virginia.

First marriage.

Appamatucke discovered.

Long he stayed not, but fitting himselfe and Captaine Waldo with two Barges, from Chawopo, Weanocke and all parts there, was found neither Corne nor Savage, but all fled (being jealous of our intents) till we discovered the River and people of Appametuck, where we found little: that which they had, wee equally devided, betwixt the Savages and us (but gave them Copper in considera-

tion) Master Percie, and Master Scrivener went also abroad but could finde nothing.

The President seeing this procrastinating of time, was no course to live, resolved with Captaine Waldo (whom he knew to be sure in time of need) to surprize Powhatan, and all his provision, but Captaine Winne, and Master Scrivener (for some private respects) did their best to hinder their project: But the President whom no perswasions could perswade to starve, being invited by Powhatan to come unto him, and if he would send him but men to build him a house, bring him a Grindstone, fiftie Swords, some Peeces, a Cocke and a Henne, with Copper and Beads, he would load his ship with Corne, the President not ignorant of his devices, yet unwilling to neglect any opportunitie, presently sent three Dutchmen and two English (having no victuals to imploy them, all for want thereof being idle) knowing there needed no better Castell, then that house to surprize Powhatan, to effect this project hee tooke order with Captaine Waldo to second him if need required; Scrivener he left his Substitute; and set forth with the Pinnace two Barges, and sixe and fortie men which only were such as voluntarily offered themselves for his journie the which (by reason of Master Scriveners ill successe) was censured very desperate, they all knowing Smith would not returne emptie howsoever, caused many of those that he had appointed, to find excuses to stay behind.

THe nine and twentieth of December hee set forward for Werawocomoco. In the Pinnace. Master George Percie, brother to the Earle of Northumberland. Master Francis West, brother to the Lord De-la-Ware. William Phetiplace Captaine of the Pinnace. Jonas Profit Master. Robert Ford Clerke of the Councell. *Cap. Smiths journie to Pamaunke. Ch.* 8.

Michaell Phetiplace. Geoffery Abbot Sergeant. William Tankard. George Yarington. James Bourne. George Burton. Thomas Coe. Gentlemen.

John Dods. Edward Brinton. Nathaniell Peacocke.

Henry Powell. David Ellis. Thomas Gipson. John Prat. George Acrigge. James Reade. Nicholas Hancocke. James Watkins. Anthony Baggly Sergeant. Thomas Lambert. Edward Pising Sergeant. Souldiers.

Foure Dutchmen and Richard Savage were sent by Land, to build the house for Powhatan against our arrivall.

This company being victualled but for three or foure dayes lodged the first night at Weraskoyack, where the President tooke sufficient provision; This kinde Savage did his best to divert him from seeing Powhatan, but perceiving hee could not prevaile, hee advised in this manner; Captaine Smith, you shall find Powhatan to use you kindly, but trust him not, and be sure he have no opportunitie to seize on your armes, for he hath sent for you only to cut your throts; the Captaine thanked him for his good counsell, yet the better to try his love, desired Guides to Chowanoke, for hee would send a present to that King to bind him his friend. To performe this Journey, was sent Michael Sicklemore, a very honest valiant, and painfull Souldier, with him two Guides, and directions how to search for the lost company of Sir Walter Rawleigh, and Silke Grasse: then wee departed thence, the President assuring the King his perpetuall love, and left with him Samuell Collier his Page to learne the Language.

The good counsell of Weraskoyake.

The next night being lodged at Kecoughtan sixe or seven dayes, the extreme wind, raine, frost, and snow, caused us to keepe Christmasse amongst the Savages, where we were never more merrie, nor fed on more plentie of good Oysters, Fish, Flesh, Wilde-foule, and good Bread, nor never had better fires in England then in the dry warme smokie houses of Kecoughtan. But departing thence, when we found no houses, we were not curious in any weather, to lie three or foure nights together upon any shore under the Trees by a good fire. The President Anthony Bagly, and Edward Pising, did kill one hundred fortie and eight Fowles at three shootes. At Kiskiack the

Plentie of victuall.

148. *Fowles killed at three shoots.*

Frost forced us three or foure dayes also to suppresse the insolencie of those proud Savages; to quarter in their houses, and guard our Barge, and cause them give us what we wanted, yet were wee but twelve with the President, and yet wee never wanted Harbour where wee found any houses.

The twelfth of January we arrived at Werawocomo, where the River was frozen neere halfe a mile from the shore; but to neglect no time, the President with his Barge, so farre had approached by breaking the Ice as the ebbe [IV. ix. 1721.] left him amongst those Ozie shoales, yet rather then to lie there frozen to death, by his owne example he taught them to march middle deepe, more then a flight shot through this muddie frozen Oze; when the Barge floted hee appointed two or three to returne her aboord the Pinnace, where for want of water in melting the Salt Ice they made fresh water, but in this march Master Russell (whom none could perswade to stay behind) being somewhat ill, and exceeding heavie, so over-toyled himselfe, as the rest had much adoe (ere hee got ashore) to regaine life, into his dead benummed spirits, quartering in the next Houses wee found, we sent to Powhatan for provision, who sent us plentie of Bread, Turkeyes, and Venison. The next day having feasted us after his ordinary manner, he began to aske, when we would bee gone, fayning hee sent not for us, neither had hee any Corne, and his people much lesse, yet for fortie Swords hee would procure us fortie bushels. The President shewing him the men there present, that brought him the message and conditions, asked him how it chanced hee became so forgetfull, thereat the King concluded the matter with a merrie laughter, asking for our Commodities, but none hee liked without Gunnes and Swordes, valuing a basket of Corne more precious then a Basket of Copper, saying, hee could eate his Corne, but not his Copper.

An ill march. Powhatans subtletie.

Cap. Smiths discourse to Powhatan.

Captaine Smith seeing the intent of this subtle Savage, beganne to deale with him after this manner, Powhatan,

Though I had many courses to have made my provision, yet beleeving your promises to supply my wants, I neglected all, to satisfie your desire, and to testifie my love, I sent you my men for your building, neglecting my owne: what your people had you have engrossed, forbidding them our Trade, and now you thinke by consuming the time, we shall consume for want, not having to fulfill your strange demands, as for Swords and Gunnes, I told you long agoe, I had none to spare. And you shall know, those I have, can keepe me from want, yet steale, or wrong you I will not nor dissolve that friendship we have mutually promised, except you constraine me by your bad usage.

Powhatans reply and flattery.

The King having attentively listned to this Discourse; promised, that both he and his Countrey would spare him what they could, the which within two dayes, they should receive, yet Captaine Smith (saith the King) some doubt I have of your comming hither, that makes me not so kindly seeke to releeve you as I would; for many doe informe mee, your comming is not for Trade, but to invade my people and possesse my Country, who dare not come to bring you corne, seeing you thus armed with your men. To cleere us of this feare, leave aboord your weapons, for here they are needlesse we being all friends and for ever Powhatans.

With many such Discourses they spent the day, quartering that night in the Kings houses, the next day he reviewed his building, which he little intended should proceed; for the Dutchmen finding his plentie, and knowing our want, and perceiving his preparation to surprize us, little thinking we could escape both him and famine (to obtaine his favour) revealed to him as much as they knew of our estates projects, and how to prevent them; one of them being of so good a judgement, spirit, and resolution, and a hireling that was certaine of wages for his labor, and ever well used, both he and his Countrimen, that the President knew not whom better to trust, and not knowing any fitter for that imployment, had sent

Wickednesse of their Dutchmen.

him as a spie to discover Powhatans intent, then little doubting his honestie, nor could ever be certaine of his villany, till neere halfe a yeere after. Whilst we expected the comming in of the Country, we wrangled out of the King ten quarters of Corne for a Copper Kettle, the which the President perceiving him much to effect, valued it at a much greater rate, but (in regard of his scarcitie) he would accept of as much more the next yeere, or else the Country of Monacan; the King exceeding liberall of that he had not yeelded him Monacan. Wherewith each seeming well contented; Powhatan began to expostulate the difference betwixt Peace and Warre, after this manner.

Powhatans discourse of Peace and Warre.

Captaine Smith you may understand, that I, having seene the death of all my people thrice, and not one living of those three Generations, but my selfe, I know the difference of Peace and Warre, better then any in my Countrie. But now I am old, and ere long I must die, my Brethren, namely Opichapam, Opechankanough, and Kekataugh, my two sisters, and their two daughters, are distinctly each others successors, I wish their experiences no lesse then mine, and your love to them, no lesse then mine to you; but this brute from Nansamund that you are come to destroy my Countrie, so much affrighteth al my people, as they dare not visit you; what will it availe you, to take that perforce you may quietly have with love, or to destroy them that provide you food? what can you get by war, when we can hide our provision and flie to the woods, wherby you must famish by wronging us your friends; and why are you thus jealous of our loves, seeing us unarmed, and both doe, and are willing still to feed you with that you cannot get but by our labours? thinke you I am so simple not to know, it is better to eat good meate, lie well, and sleepe quietly with my women and children, laugh & be merrie with you, have Copper, Hatchets, or what I want, being your friend then be forced to flie from all, to lie cold in the woods, feed upon Acornes, roots and such trash, and be so hunted by you, that I can neither rest, eat, nor sleepe; but my

tired men must watch, and if a twig but breake, every one cry there comes Captaine Smith, then must I flie I know not whether, and thus with miserable feare end my miserable life; leaving my pleasures to such youths, as you, which through your rash unadvisednesse, may quickly as miserably end, for want of that you never know how to find? Let this therefore assure you of our loves, and everie yeere our friendly Trade shall furnish you with Corne, and now also if you would come in friendly manner to see us, and not thus with your Guns and Swords, as to invade your foes. To this subtill discourse the President thus replied.

[IV. ix. 1722.]

C. Smiths reply.

Seeing you will not rightly conceive of our words, we strive to make you know our thoughts by our deeds. The vow I made you of my love, both my selfe and my men have kept, as for your promise I find it everie day violated, by some of your subjects, yet we finding your love and kindnesse (our custome is so far from being ungratefull) that for your sake onely, we have curbed our thirsting desire of revenge, else had they knowne as well the crueltie we use to our enemies, as our true love and curtesie to our friends. And I thinke your judgement sufficient to conceive as well by the adventures wee have undertaken, as by the advantage we have by our Armes of yours: that had we intended you any hurt, long ere this wee could have effected it; your people comming to me at James Towne, are entertained with their Bowes and Arrowes without exception; we esteeming it with you, as it is with us, to weare our Armes as our apparell. As for the dangers of our enemies, in such warres consist our chiefest pleasure, for your riches wee have no use, as for the hiding your provision, or by your flying to the Woods, wee shall so unadvisedly starve as you conclude, your friendly care in that behalfe is needlesse; for wee have a rule to find beyond your knowledge.

Many other discourses they had, till at last they began to trade, but the King seeing his will would not be admitted as a law, our guard dispersed, nor our men

disarmed, he (sighing) breathed his mind once more in this manner.

Powhatans importunitie for to have them unarmed, to betray them.

Captaine Smith, I never used any Werowances so kindly as your selfe; yet from you I receive the least kindnesse of any. Captaine Newport gave me swords, Copper, Clothes, a Bed, Tooles, or what I desired, ever taking what I offered him, and would send away his Guns when I intreated him: none doth deny to lay at my feet (or doe) what I desire, but onely you, of whom I can have nothing, but what you regard not, and yet you will have whatsoever you demand. Captaine Newport you call father, and so you call me, but I see for all us both, you will doe what you list, and wee must both seeke to content you: But if you intend so friendly as you say, send hence your Armes that I might beleeve you, for you see the love I beare you, doth cause me thus naked to forget my selfe.

Smith seeing this Savage but trifled the time to cut his throat: procured the Savages to breake the Ice (that his Boat might come to fetch both him and his Corne) and gave order for his men to come ashore, to have surprised the King, with whom also hee but trifled the time till his men landed, and to keepe him from suspition, entertained the time with this reply.

C. Smiths discourse to delay time, that he might surprise Powhatan.

Powhatan, you must know as I have but one God, I honour but one King; and I live not here as your subject, but as your friend, to pleasure you with what I can: by the gifts you bestow on me, you gaine more then by trade, yet would you visit mee as I doe you, you should know it is not our customes to sell our curtesie as a vendible commoditie. Bring all your Countrey with you for your guard, I will not dislike of it as being over jealous. But to content you, to morrow I will leave my Armes, and trust to your promise. I call you father indeed, and as a father you shall see I will love you, but the small care you had of such a child, caused my men to perswade me to shift for my selfe.

Powhatans plot to have murdered Smith.

By this time Powhatan having knowledge, his men were

readie: whilst the Ice was breaking, his luggage, women, and children fled, and to avoid suspition, left two or three of his women talking with the Captaine, whilst hee secretly fled, and his men as secretly beset the house, which being at the instant discovered to Captaine Smith, with his Pistol, Sword, and Target, hee made such a passage amongst those naked Devills, that they fled before him, some one way, some another, so that without hurt hee obtained the Corps du-guard: when they perceived him so well escaped, and with his eight men (for hee had no more with him) to the uttermost of their skill, they sought by excuses to dissemble the matter, and Powhatan to excuse his flight, and the sudden comming of this multitude, sent our Captaine a great Bracelet, and a Chaine of Pearle, by an ancient Orator that bespoke us to this purpose (perceiving then from our Pinnace, a Barge, and men departing and comming unto us.) Captaine Smith, our Werowance is fled, fearing your Guns, and knowing when the Ice was broken there would come more men, sent those of his to guard his Corne from the pilfry, that might happen without your knowledge: now though some bee hurt by your misprision, yet he is your friend, and so will continue: and since the Ice is open hee would have you send away your Corne; and if you would have his company send also your Armes, which so affrighteth this people, that they dare not come to you, as he hath promised they should: Now having provided Baskets for our men to carry the Corne, they kindly offered their service to guard our Armes, that none should steale them. A great many they were, of goodly well appointed fellowes as grim as Devills: yet the very sight of cocking our matches against them, and a few wordes caused them to leave their Bowes and Arrowes to our guard, and beare downe our Corne on their owne backes; wee needed not importune them to make quick dispatch. But our owne Barge being left by the ebbe, caused us to stay till the midnight tide carried us safe aboard, having spent that halfe night with

A Chaine of Pearle for a Present.

His excuse.

Pretending to kill our men loaded with baskets, wee forced the savages to carrie them.

such mirth, as though we never had suspected or intended any thing, we left the Dutchmen to build, Brinton to kill Fowle for Powhatan (as by his Messengers he importunately desired) and left directions with our men to give Powhatan all the content they could, that we might injoy his company at our returne from Pamaunke.

[IV. ix. 1723.]

How we escaped surprising at Pamaunke. Chap. 9.

The Dutchmen deceive C. Smith. Perfidious wretches.

WE had no sooner set saile, but Powhatan returned, and sent Adam and Francis (two stout Dutch men) to the Fort, who faining to Captaine Winne that all things were well, and that Captaine Smith had use for their Armes, wherefore they requested new (the which were given them) they told him their comming was, for some extraordinary tooles and shift of apparell, by this colourable excuse, they obtained sixe or seven more to their confederacie, such expert theeves that presently furnished them with a great many of Swords, Pike-heads, Peeces, Shot, Powder, and such like; they have Savages at hand ready to carry it away. The next day they returned unsuspected, leaving their confederates to follow, and in the interim, to convay them a competencie of all things they could, for which service they should live with Powhatan as his chiefe affected: free from those miseries that would happen the Colony. Samuell their other consort, Powhatan kept for their pledge, whose diligence had provided them three hundred of their kind of Hatchets, the rest fiftie Swords, eight Peeces, and eight Pikes: Briton, and Richard Savage seeing the Dutch-men so strangely diligent to accommodate the Savages, these weapons attempted to have got to James Towne, but they were apprehended. Within two or three daies we arrived at Pamaunke, the King as many daies entertained us with feasting and much mirth: and the day he appointed to begin our trade, the President, with M. Persie, M. West, M. Russell, M. Beheathland, M. Powell, M. Crashaw, M. Ford, and some others to the number of fifteene went up to Opechancanoughs house (neere a quarter of a mile from the River) where we found nothing, but a lame fellow

Opechancanoughs abandoned.

and a boy, and all the houses about, of all things abandoned; not long wee staid ere the King arrived, and after him came divers of his people loaded with Bowes and Arrowes, but such pinching commodities, and those esteemed at such a value, as our Captaine began with him in this manner.

Smiths speech to Opechancanough.

Opechancanough, the great love you professe with your tongue, seemes meere deceit by your actions; last yeere you kindly fraughted our ship, but now you have invited me to starve with hunger. You know my want, and I your plentie, of which by some meanes I must have a part, remember it is fit for Kings to keepe their promise, here are my commodities, whereof take your choice; the rest I will proportion fit bargaines for your people.

The King seemed kindly to accept his offer; and the better to colour his project, sold us what they had to our owne content; promising the next day more company, better provided (the Barges and Pinnace being committed to the charge of M. Phetiplace) the President, with his old fifteene marched up to the Kings house, where wee found foure or five men newly come with great Baskets. Not long after came the King, who with a strained cheerefulnesse held us with discourse, what paines he had taken to keepe his promise; till M. Russell brought us in newes that we were all betrayed: for at least sixe or seven hundred of well appointed Indians had invironed the house and beset the fields. The King conjecturing what Russell related, wee could well perceive how the extremitie of his feare bewrayed his intent: whereat some of our company seeming dismayed with the thought of such a multitude; the Captaine incouraged us after this manner. Worthy Country-men were the mischiefes of my seeming friends, no more then the danger of these enemies, I little cared, were they as many more; if you dare doe, but as I. But this is my torment, that if I escape them, our malicious Councell, with their open mouthed Minions, will make me such a peace-breaker (in their opinions) in England, as will breake my necke:

700. Savages beset the English being but sixteene.

Smiths speech to his Company.

I could wish those here, that make these seeme Saints, and me an Oppressor. But this is the worst of all, wherein, I pray aide me with your opinions; should we begin with them and surprize this King, we cannot keepe him, and defend well our selves, if wee should each kill our man, and so proceed withall in this house; the rest will all fly, then shall we get no more, then the bodies that are slaine, and then starve for victuall: as for their furie it is the least danger, for well you know (being alone assaulted with two or three hundred of them) I made them compound to save my life, and we are now sixteene, and they but seven hundred at the most, and assure your selves GOD will so assist us, that if you dare but to stand to discharge your Peeces, the verie smoake will be sufficient to affright them: yet howsoever (if there be occasion) let us fight like men, and not die like sheepe: but first I will deale with them, to bring it to passe, we may fight for some thing, and draw them to it by conditions. If you like this motion, promise me youle be valiant. The time not permitting any argument, all vowed to execute whatsoever he attempted, or die; whereupon the Captaine approaching the King, bespoke him in this manner.

Smiths offer to Opechancanough.

I see Opechancanough your plot is to murder me, but I feare it not; as yet your men and mine, have done no harme, but by our directions. Take therefore your Armes; you see mine: my bodie shall bee as naked as yours; the Ile in your River is a fit place, if you be contented: and the conquerour (of us two) shall be Lord and Master over all our men: otherwaies draw all your men into the field; if you have not enough, take time to fetch more, and bring what number you will, so everie one bring a basket of Corne, against all which I will stake the value in Copper; you see I have but fifteene men, and our game shall be, The conquerour take all.

Opechancanoughs device to betray Smith.

The King, being guarded with fiftie or sixtie of the chiefe men, seemed kindly to appease Smiths suspition of unkindnesse, by a great present at the doore, they

[IV. ix. 1724.] *Opechancanough taken prisoner amids his men. If this course had bin taken by others Virginia by this had bin out of her cradle, & able to goe alone, yea to trade or fight. But names of peace have bred worse then wars, and our confidence hatched the miserable massacre by this perfidious Savage. And would God a Dale or Smith, or some such spirit were yet there to take this, that is the onely right course with those which know not to doe right, further for feare of suffering it enforceth. Smiths discourse to the Pamaunkies.*

intreated him to receive. This was to draw him without the doore where the present was guarded with (at the least) two hundred men, and thirtie lying under a great tree (that lay thwart as a Barricado) each his Arrow nocked ready to shoot; some the President commanded to go & see what kind of deceit this was, and to receive the Present, (but they refused to doe it) yet divers offered whom he would not permit: but commanding M. Persie, and M. West to make good the house, to M. Powell, and M. Beheathland to guard the doore, and in such a rage snatched the King by his long locke of haire in the midst of his men, with his Pistoll readie bent against his brest, he instantly yeelded his Bow and Arrowes, and sued for his life: Thus he led the King (neere dead with feare) amongst all his people, who delivering the Captaine his Bow and arrowes, all his men were easily intreated to cast downe their Armes, little dreaming any durst in that manner have used their King: who then to escape himselfe, bestowed his Presents in good sadnesse. And having caused all his multitude to approach disarmed: the President argued with them to this effect.

I see you Pamaunkies, the great desire you have to cut my throat; and my long suffering your injuries, have inboldned you to this presumtion. The cause I have forborne your insolencies, is the promise I made you (before the God I serve) to be your friend, till you give mee just cause to bee your enemy. If I keepe this vow, my God will keepe me, you cannot hurt me; if I breake it, he will destroy me. But if you shoot but one Arrow, to shed one drop of bloud of any of my men, or steale the least of these Beades, or Copper (I spurne before me with my foot) you shall see, I will not cease revenge (if once I begin) so long as I can heare where to find one of your Nation that will not deny the name of Pamaunke: I am not now at Rasseneac (halfe drown'd with mire) where you tooke me prisoner, yet then for keeping promise, and your good usage, and saving my life, I so affect you, that your denialls of your treacherie, doth halfe

perswade me to mistake my selfe. But if I be the marke you aime at, here I stand, shoot he that dare. You promised to fraught my ship ere I departed, and so you shall, or I meane to load her with your dead carkasses; yet if as friends you will come and trade, I once more promise not to trouble you, except you give mee the first occasion. Upon this away went their Bowes and Arrowes, and men, women, and children brought in their commodities, but two or three houres they so thronged about the President, and so overwearied him, as hee retired himselfe to rest, leaving M. Beheathland, and M. Powel to accept their Presents: but some Savages perceiving them fast asleepe, and the guard carelesly dispersed, fortie or fiftie of their choice men each with an English Sword in his hand, began to enter the house, with two or three hundred others that pressed to second them. The noise and hast they made in, did so shake the house, as they awoke him from his sleepe, and being halfe amazed with this sudden sight, betooke him straight to his Sword and Target, M. Crashaw and some other charging in like manner, they thronged faster backe, then before forward. The house thus clensed, the King and his Ancients, with a long Oration came to excuse this intrusion. The rest of the day was spent with much kindnesse, the company againe renuing their Presents of their best provision. And whatsoever we gave them, they seemed well contented with it.

The Savages dissemble their intent.

See their use of English Armes.

Their excuse and reconcilement.

Now in the meane while since our departure, this hapned at the Fort; M. Scrivener, willing to crosse the surprizing of Powhatan, nine daies after the Presidents departure would needs visit the Ile of Hogs, and tooke with him Captaine Waldo (though the President had appointed him to be readie to second his occasions) with M. Anthony Gosnoll, and eight others; but so violent was the wind (that extreame frozen time) that the Boat sunke, but where or how, none doth know, for they were all drowned; onely this was knowne, that the Skiffe was much overladed, and would scarce have lived in that

The losse of M. Skrivener and others with a Skiffe.

extreame tempest, had she beene emptie; but by no perswasion he could be diverted, though both Waldo and a hundred others doubted as it hapned. The Savages were the first that found their bodies, which so much the more encouraged them to effect their projects. To advertise the President of this heavy newes, none could be found would undertake it, but the journey was often refused of all in the Fort, untill M. Wiffin undertooke alone the performance thereof; wherein he was encountred with many dangers and difficulties, and in all parts as he passed (as also that night he lodged with Powhatan) he perceived such preparation for warre, that assured him, some mischiefe was intended, but with extraordinary bribes, and much trouble, in three daies travell at length he found us in the midst of these turmoiles. This unhappy newes the President swore him to conceale from the rest, and so dissembling his sorrow, with the best countenance he could, when the night approached, went safely aboard with all his company.

M. Wiffin his journey to the President.

Now so extreamely Powhatan had threatned the death of his men, if they did not by some meanes kill Captaine Smith, that the next day they appointed the Country should come to trade unarmed: yet unwilling to be treacherous, but that they were constrained, hating fighting, almost as ill as hanging, such feare they had of bad successe. The next morning the Sunne had not long appeared, but the fields appeared covered with people, and baskets to tempt us ashore. The President determined to keepe aboard, but nothing was to be had without his presence, nor they would not indure the sight of a Gun: then the President seeing many depart, and being unwilling to lose such a bootie, so well contrived the Pinnace, and his Barges with Ambuscadoes, as only with M. Persie, M. West, and M. Russell armed, he went ashore, others unarmed hee appointed to receive what was brought; the Savages flocked before him in heapes, and (the banke serving as a trench for retreate) he drew them faire open to his Ambuscadoes, for he not being to be

Powhatan constraineth his men to be treacherous.

The third attempt to betray us.

perswaded to goe to visit their King, the King came to visit him with two or three hundred men, in the forme of two halfe Moones, with some twentie men, and many women loaded with great painted baskets; but when they approached somewhat neere us, their women and children fled, for when they had environed and beset the fields in this manner, they thought their purpose sure; yet so trembled with feare, as they were scarce able to nock their Arrowes: Smith standing with his three men readie bent beholding them, till they were within danger of our Ambuscado, who, upon the word discovered themselves, and hee retiring to the banke: which the Savages no sooner perceived, but away they fled, esteeming their heeles for their best advantage. That night we sent to the Fort M. Crashaw, and M. Ford, who (in the mid-way betweene Werawocomoco and the fort) met foure or five of the Dutchmens confederates going to Powhatan, the which (to excuse those Gentlemens suspition of their running to the Savages) returned to the Fort and there continued. [IV. ix. 1725.]

The Savages hearing our Barge depart in the night were so terribly affraide, that wee sent for more men (wee having so much threatned their ruine, and the rasing of their Houses, Boates, and Canowes) that the next day the King sent our Captaine a Chaine of Pearle to alter his purpose, and stay his men, promising (though they wanted themselves) to fraught our ship, and bring it aboard to avoid suspition, so that five or sixe daies after, from all parts of the Countrey within ten or twelve miles, in the extreame cold Frost, and Snow, they brought us provision on their naked backes.

A Chaine of Pearle sent to obtaine peace.

Yet notwithstanding this kindnesse and trade, had their art and poison beene sufficient, the President with Master West and some others had beene poysoned: it made them sicke, but expelled it selfe. Wecuttanow a stout young fellow, knowing hee was suspected for bringing this present of poison, with fortie or fiftie of his choice companions (seeing the President but with a few men at Potauncat—) so proudly braved it, as though hee expected

The President poysoned.

to incounter a revenge: which the President perceiving, in the midst of his company did not onely beat, but spurned him like a dogge, as scorning to doe him any worse mischiefe: whereupon all of them fled into the Woods, thinking they had done a great matter, to have so well escaped: and the Townsmen remayning, presently fraughted our Barge, to bee rid of our companies, framing many excuses to excuse Wecuttanow (being sonne to their chiefe King, but Powhatan) and told us, if wee would shew them him that brought the poyson, they would deliver him to us to punish as wee pleased.

The offender punished.

Men may thinke it strange there should bee this stirre for a little Corne, but had it beene Gold with more ease wee might have got it: and had it wanted, the whole Colony had starved. Wee may bee thought verie patient, to indure all those injuries; yet onely with fearing them, wee got what they had. Whereas if wee had taken revenge, then by their losse wee should have lost our selves. We searched all the Countries of Youghtanund and Mattapamient, where the people imparted that little they had, with such complaints and teares from women and children; as hee had beene too cruell to bee a Christian that would not have beene satisfied, and moved with compassion. But this happened in October, November, and December, when that unhappy discoverie of Monacan was made, wee might have fraughted a Ship of fortie Tunnes, and twice as much might have beene had from the Rivers of Toppahannock, Patawomeck, and Pawtuxunt. The maine occasion of our temporizing with the Savages was to part friendes (as wee did) to give the lesse cause of suspition to Powhatan, to flye: by whom wee now returned, with a purpose to have surprised him and his provision: for effecting whereof (when wee came against the Towne) the President sent Master Wiffin and Master Coe, a shoare to discover and make way for his intended project. But they found that those damned Dutchmen had caused Powhatan to abandon his new house, and Werawocomoco, and to carrie away all his

The Savage want and povertie.

The Dutchmen did much hurt.

Corne and provision; and the people they found by their meanes so ill affected, that had they not stood well upon their guard, they had hardly escaped with their lives. So the President finding his intention thus frustrated, and that there was nothing now to bee had, and therefore an unfit time to revenge their abuses, held on the course for James Towne; wee having in this journey (for five and twentie pound of Copper, fiftie pound of Iron and Beades) kept fortie men sixe weekes, and daily feasted with Bread, Corne, Flesh, Fish, and Fowle, every man having for his reward (and in consideration of his commodities) a months provision (no trade being allowed but for the store) and wee delivered at James Towne to the Cape-Merchant two hundred seventie nine bushels of Corne.

How the Savages became subject to the English. Chap. 10.

WHen the ships departed, all the provision of store (but that the President had gotten) was so rotten with the last Summers Raine, and eaten with Rats and Wormes, as the Hogges would scarcely eate it, yet it was the Souldiers Diet, till our returnes: so that we found nothing done, but victuall spent, and the most part of our Tooles, and a good part of our Armes conveyed to the Savages. But now, casting up the store, and finding sufficient till the next Harvest, the feare of starving was abandoned; and the Company divided into tennes, fifteenes, or as the busines required foure houres each day was spent in work, the rest in pastimes and merrie exercise. The Dutchmens Consorts so closely still convaid Powder, Shot, Swords, and Tooles, that though wee could find the defect, we could not find by whom it was occasioned, till it was too late. All this time the Dutchmen remayning with Powhatan, received them, instructing the Savages their use. But their Consorts not following them as they expected (to know the cause, they sent Francis their companion (a stout young fellow) disguised Savage like) to the Glasse-house (a place in the Woods neere a mile from James Towne) where was the randevoze for all their unsuspected villany; fortie men

[IV. ix. 1726.]

The Dutchmens plot to murder Cap. Smith.

they procured of Powhatan to lie in Ambuscadoe for Captaine Smith, who no sooner heard of this Dutchman, but he sent to apprehend him, who found he was gone, yet to crosse his returne to Powhatan, Captaine Smith presently dispatched twenty shot after him, and then returning but from the Glasse-house alone, he incountred the King of Paspaheigh, a most strong stout Savage, whose perswasions not being able to perswade him to his ambush, seeing him only armed but with a Fauchion, attempted to have shot him; but the President prevented his shot by grapling with him, and the Savage as well prevented him for drawing his Fauchion, and perforce bore him into the River to have drowned him; long they struggled in the water, from whence the King perceiving two of the Poles upon the sands would have fled; but the President held him by the haire and throat till the Poles came in; then seeing how pittifully the poore Salvage begged his life, they conducted him prisoner to the Fort. The Dutchman ere long was also brought in, whose Villany, though all this time it was suspected, yet he fained such a formall excuse, that for want of Language, Winne had not rightly understood them, and for their dealings with Powhatan, that to save their lives they were constrained to accommodate his armes, of whom he extremely complained to have detained them perforce; and that hee made this escape with the hazard of his life, and meant not to have returned, but only walked in the woods to gather Walnuts: yet for all this faire Tale (there was so small appearance of truth) hee went by the heeles; the King also he put fetters; purposing to regaine the Dutchmen, by the saving his life; the poore Savage did his best, by his daily Messengers to Powhatan, but all returned that the Dutchmen would not returne, neither did Powhatan stay them, and to bring them fiftie miles on their backes they were not able. Daily this Kings Wives, children, and people, came to visit him with Presents, which he liberally bestowed to make his peace, much trust they had in the Presidents promise, but the King finding

Smith taketh the King of Paspaheigh prisoner.

his Guard negligent (though fettered) yet escaped: Captaine Winne thinking to pursue him, found such troupes of Savages to hinder his passages, as they exchanged many volies of shot for flight of Arrowes. Captaine Smith hearing of this, in returning to the Fort tooke two Savages Prisoners, the one called Kemps, the other Kinsock, the two most exact Villaines in the Countrey; with those, Captaine Winne and fiftie chosen men attempted that night to have regained the King, and revenged his injurie (and so had done if he had followed his directions, or beene advised by those two Villaines, that would have betrayed both their King and Kindred for a piece of Copper) but hee trifling away the night, the Savages the next morning by the rising of the Sunne, braved him to come ashore to fight, a good time both sides let flie at other, but we heard of no hurt, only they tooke two Canoaes, burnt the Kings House and so returned.

The President fearing those bravadoes would but incourage the Savages, begunne himselfe to trie his conclusions; whereby sixe or seven Savages were slaine, as many made Prisoners; burnt their Houses, tooke their Boats with all their fishing weares, and planted them at James Towne for his owne use; and now resolved not to ceasse till hee had revenged himselfe upon all that had injured him, but in his journey passing by Paspaheigh towards Chickahamina, the Savages did their best to draw him to their Ambuscadoes; but seeing him regardlesly passe their Countrey, all shewed themselves in their bravest manner, to try their valours; he could not but flie, and ere hee could land, the Savages no sooner knew him, but they threw downe their Armes and desired Peace; their Orator was a stout young man called Ocanindge, whose worthy Discourse deserveth to be remembred; and this it was.

The Savages desire peace.

Captaine Smith, my Master is here present in this companie thinking it Captaine Winne, and not you; and of him he intended to have beene revenged, having never

Ocanindge his Oration.

offended him: if he have offended you in escaping your imprisonment; the Fishes swimme, the Fowles flie, and the verie Beasts strive to escape the snare and live; then blame not him being a man; he would entreate you remember, your being a prisoner, what paines hee tooke to save your life; if since hee hath injured you, hee was compelled to it; but howsoever; you have revenged it with our too great losses we perceive and well know you intend to destroy us, that are here to intreat and desire your friendship, and to enjoy our houses and plant our fields, of whose fruit you shall participate, otherwise you will have the worst by our absence, for we can plant any where, though with more labour, and we know you cannot live if you want our Harvest, and that reliefe we bring you; if you promise us peace we will beleeve you, if you proceed in revenge, we will abandon the Countrie. Upon these tearmes the President promised them peace, till they did us injurie, upon condition they should bring in provision, so all departed good friends, and so continued till Smith left the Countrey.

A Savage smothered at James Towne, and was recovered.

Arriving at James Towne, complaint was made to the President that the Chickahaminos, who all this while continued Trade, and seemed our friends by colour thereof were the only Theeves, and amongst other things, a Pistoll being stolne, and the Thiefe fled, there was apprehended two proper young fellowes that were brothers, knowne to be his confederates. Now to regaine this Pistoll, the one we imprisoned, the other was sent to returne againe within twelve houres, or his brother to be hanged, yet the President pittying the poore naked Savage in the dungeon, sent him victuall and some Char-cole for fire; ere midnight his brother returned with the Pistoll, but the Savage in the dungeon was so smothered with the smoake hee had made, and so pittiously burnt, that he found him dead, the other most lamentably bewailed his death, and brake forth in such bitter agonies, that the President (to quiet him) told him that if hereafter they would not steale, he would make him alive againe, but little thought he could be recovered,

[IV. ix. 1727.]

Charcole-smoke an usual murtherer by oversight, where no vent is left to it.

yet (we doing our best with Aquavitæ and Vinegar) it pleased God to restore him againe to life, but so drunke and affrighted that he seemed lunaticke, not understanding any thing he spoke or heard, the which as much grieved and tormented the other, as before to see him dead; of which maladie (upon promise of their good behaviour afterward) the President promised to recover him, and so caused him to be laid by a fire to sleepe, who in the morning (having well slept) had recovered his perfect senses; and then being dressed of his burning, and each a piece of Copper given them, they went away so well contented, that this was spread amongst all the Savages for a Miracle, that Captaine Smith could make a man alive that is dead. These and many other such pretie accidents, so amazed and affrighted both Powhatan and all his people that from all parts with presents they desired peace, returning many stolne things which wee neither demanded nor thought of. And after that, those that were taken stealing (both Powhatan and his people) hath sent them backe to James Towne to receive their punishment, and all the Countrie became absolutely as free for us, as for themselves.

Perhaps the Jesuites wits have (besides meere lies) hatched many of their Indian Miracles from as unlikely egs as this by conjoyning industrie and opportunitie.

Powhatan desireth peace.

NOw wee so quietly followed our businesse, that in three moneths wee made three or foure last of Pitch and Tarre, and Sope-ashes, produced a triall of Glasse, made a Well in the Fort of excellent sweet water (which till then was wanting) built some twenty houses, recovered our Church, provided Nets and wares for fishing (and to stop the disorders of our disorderly theeves and the Savages) built a Blocke-house in the necke of our Ile, kept by a garrison to entertaine the Savages trade, and none to passe nor repasse, Savage, nor Christian, with out the Presidents order; thirty or forty acres of ground we digged, and planted; of three Sowes in one yeare increased sixty and odde Pigges, and neere five hundred Chickens brought up themselves (without having any meate given them) but the Hogges were transported to Hogge Ile,

What was done in three moneths having victuall.

where also we built a Blocke-house with a Garrison, to give us notice of any shipping, and for their exercise they made Clap-boord, Wainscot, and cut downe Trees against the ships comming. Wee built also a Fort for a retreat, neere a convenient River upon a high commanding Hill, very hard to be assaulted, and easie to be defended; but ere it was halfe finished, this defect caused a stay; in searching our Casked Corne, wee found it halfe rotten, the rest so consumed with the many thousand Rattes (increased first from the ships) that wee knew not how to keepe that little wee had. This did drive us all to our wits end, for there was nothing in the Countrey but what Nature affoorded, untill this time Keinps and Tassore, were fettered Prisoners, and daily wrought, and taught us how to order and plant our fields. Whom now (for want of victuall) we set at libertie, but so well were they used, that they little desired it; and to expresse their loves, for sixteene dayes continuance, the Countrey brought us (when least) one hundred a day of Squirrils, Turkeyes, Deare, and other wilde Beasts; but this want of Corne occasioned the end of all our workes, it beeing worke sufficient to provide victuall, sixtie or eightie with Ensigne Laxon, were sent downe the River to live upon Oysters, and twentie with Lieutenant Percie to try for fishing at Point Comfort, but in sixe weekes, they would not agree once to cast out their Net. Master West with as many went up to the Falls, but nothing could be found but a few Berries and Acornes; of that in the store every one had their equall proportion. Till this present (by the hazard and endeavour of some thirtie or fortie) this whole number had ever bin fed. We had more Sturgeon then could be devoured by Dogge and Man; of which the industrious, by drying and pownding, mingled with Caviare, Sorrell, and other wholsome hearbs, would make Bread and Meate; others would gather as much Tockwough Roots in a day, as would make them Bread a Weeke, so that of those wilde Fruites, Fish, and Berries, these lived very well (in regard of such a Diet) but such

The store devoured by rats how we lived three moneths of such natural fruits as the Countrie affoorded. Rat-plague.

The paines of 40. fed 150.

was the most strange condition of some one hundred and fiftie, that had they not beene forced to gather and prepare their victuall they would all have starved, and have eaten one another: of those wilde fruites the Savages often brought us: and for that the President would not fulfill the unreasonable desire of those distracted lubberly Gluttons to sell, not only our Kettles, Howes, Tooles, and Iron, nay Swords, Peeces, and the very Ordnance, and Houses (might they have prevailed but to have beene but idle) for those Savage fruites they would have imparted all to the Savages, especially for one basket of Corne they heard of, to bee at Powhatans, fiftie miles from our Fort, though hee brought neere halfe of it to satisfie their humours, yet to have had the other halfe, they would have sold their soules (though not sufficient to have kept them a Weeke) thousands were their exclamations, suggestions, and devises, to force him to those base Inventions, to have made it an occasion to abandon the Countrey. Want perforce constrayned him to indure their exclayming follies till hee found out the Author, one Dyer, a most craftie Knave, and his ancient maligner, whome hee worthily punished, and with the rest hee argued the case in this manner. Fellow Souldiers, I did little thinke any so false to report, or so many so simple to bee perswaded, that I either intend to starve you, or that Powhatan (at this present) hath Corne for himselfe, much lesse for you; or that I would not have it, if I knew where it were to be had. Neither did I thinke any so malicious as now I see a great many, yet it shall not so much passionate mee, but I will doe my best for my worst maligner. But dreame no longer of this vaine hope from Powhatan, nor that I will longer forbeare to force you from your idlenesse, and punish you if you raile, you cannot denie but that by the hazard of my life, many a time I have saved yours, when, might your owne wills have prevailed, you would have starved, and will doe still whether I will or no. But I protest by that God that made me, since necessitie hath not power to

Basenesse of idlenesse.

Their desire to destroy themselves.

[IV. ix. 1728.]

The Presidents Speech to the Drones.

force you to gather for your selves those fruits the Earth doth yeeld, you shall not only gather for your selves, but for those that are sicke: as yet I never had more from the store then the worst of you; and all my English extraordinary provision that I have, you shall see me devide among the sicke. And this Savage trash, you so scornfully repine at, being put in your mouthes your stomacks can digest it, and therefore I will take a course you shall provide it. The sicke shall not starve, but equally share of all our labours, and every one that gathereth not every day as much I doe, the next day shall be set beyond the River, and for ever be banished from the Fort, and live there or starve.

This order many murmured, was very cruell, but it caused the most part so well bestirre themselves, that of two hundred men (except they were drowned) there died not past seven or eight. As for Captaine Winne, and Master Ley, they died ere this want happened, and the rest died not for want of such as preserved the rest. Many were billitted among the Savages, whereby we knew all their passages, fields, and habitations, how to gather and use their fruits, as well as themselves. So well those poore Savages used us (that were thus Billited) as divers of the Souldiers ranne away, to search Kemps our old prisoner. Glad was this Savage to have such an occasion to testifie his love, for insteed of entertayning them, and such things as they had stolne with all the great offers and promises they made them, to revenge their injuries upon Captaine Smith. First hee made himselfe sport, in shewing his Countrimen (by them) how hee was used; feeding them with this Law, Who would not worke must not eate, till they were neere starved, continually threatning to beate them to death, neither could they get from him, till perforce he brought them to our Captaine, that so we contented him, and punished them: as many others that intended also to have followed them, were rather contented to labour at home, then adventure to live idle among the Savages (of whom there was more hope to make better

But 7. of 200. died in two moneths.

Christians and good subjects, then the one halfe of those that counterfeited themselves both) For so affraid were all those Kings and the better sort of their people, to displease us, that some of the baser sort that wee have extreamely hurt and punished for their villanies, would hire us that wee should not tell it to their Kings or Countrimen, who would also repunish them, and yet returne them to James Towne to content the President, by that testimonie of their loves.

The Savages returne our Fugitives.

Master Sicklemore well returned from Chawonock, but found little hope and lesse certaintie of them which had beene left by Sir Walter Rawley. So that Nathaniell Powell and Anas Todkill, were also, by the Quiyoughquohanocks, conducted to the Mangoages to search them there. But nothing could we learne but they were all dead. This honest, proper, good promise-keeping King, of all the rest did ever best affect us, and though to his false Gods hee was yet very zealous, yet he would confesse, our God as much exceeded his, as our Guns did his Bow and Arrowes, often sending our President many Presents to pray to his God for rain, or his corn would perish, for his Gods were angrie all this time. To reclaime the Dutchmen, and one Bentley another Fugitive, we imployed one William Volda, (a Switzer by birth) with pardons and promises to regain them. Little we then suspected this double villanie of any villany, who plainly taught us, in the most trust was the greatest Treason. For this wicked Hypocrite, by the seeming hate hee bore to the lewd condition of his cursed Countrimen, having this opportunitie by his imployment to regaine them, conveighed them every thing they desired to effect their project to destroy the Colonie. With much devotion they expected the Spaniard, to whom they intended to have done good service. But to begin with the first opportunitie, they seeing necessitie thus inforced us to disperse our selves; importuned Powhatan to lend them but his forces, and they would not only destroy our Hogges, fire our Towne, and betray our Pinnasse; but bring to his

Search for them sent by Sir W. Rawlew. Powhatan confessed that hee had bin at the murther of that Colonie: and shewed to Cap. Smith a Musket barrell and a brasse Morter, and certaine peeces of Iron which had bin theirs.

The Dutchmens trayterous projects.

service and subjection the most part of our companies. With this plot they had acquainted many discontents, and many were agreed to their devillish practise. But one Thomas Dovese and Thomas Mallard (whose Christian hearts much relenting at such an unchristian act) voluntarily revealed it to Captaine Smith: who did his best it might be concealed, perswading Dovese and Mallard to proceed in the confederacie: only to bring the irreclamable Dutchmen, and inconstant Savages in such a manner amongst his Ambuscadoes, as hee had prepared, as not many of them should ever have returned from out our Peninsula.

[IV. ix. 1729.] But this brute comming to the eares of the impatient multitude, they so importuned the President to cut off those Dutchmen, as amongst many that offered to cut their throats before the face of Powhatan, Master Wiffin and Jefra Abbot were sent to stabbe or shoote them; but these Dutchmen made such excuses accusing Volday whom they supposed had revealed their project, as Abbot would not, yet Wiffin would, perceiving it but deceit. The King understanding of this their imployment, sent presently his Mesengers to Captaine Smith, to signifie it was not his fault to detayne them, nor hinder his men from executing his command, nor did hee nor would he mayntaine them, or any to occasion his displeasure. But ere this businesse was brought to a point, God having seene our misery sufficient, sent in Captaine Argall to fish for Sturgeon with a ship well furnished with Wine and Bisket, which though it was not sent us, such were our occasions we tooke it at a price, but left him sufficient to returne for England, still dissembling Valdo his villany, but certainly he had not escaped had the President continued.

Two Gentlemen sent to kil them.

Cap. Smith. Notwithstanding this Valdo comming for England, pretending to the Company what rich Mynes he had found, for which he was verie much favoured, rewarded and respected, but returning with the Lord La-ware, he could not performe any thing hee promised, and thus also having coozened them all, died both basely and miserably. For

the rest of his Consorts upon the arrivall of the Lord La-ware, whom they highly recommended to Powhatan, promising what great wonders they would worke with his Lordship, would he give them leave to goe to him, but when he saw they would be gone, he replied, as you would have betrayed Captaine Smith to me, so will you me to this Lord, for you that would be so false to him, cannot be true to me, so caused his men to beat out their braines, as the Savages reported to divers that came from thence.

The arrivall of the third supply. Chap. 12.

The alteration of the government.

The losse of Virginia.

TO redresse those jarres and ill proceedings, the Councell in England altered the government and devolved the authoritie to the Lord De-la-ware. Who for his Deputie, sent Sir Thomas Gates, and Sir George Somers, with nine ships and five hundred persons: they set saile from England in May 1609. a small Catch perished at Sea in a Herycano. The Admirall, with 150. men, with the two Knights, and their new Commission, their Bils of loading with all manner of directions, and the most part of their provision arrived not. With the other seven (as Captaines) arrived Ratliffe (whose right name was Sickelmore) Martin, and Archer. Who as they had beene troublesome at Sea, began againe to marre all ashore. For though, as is said, they were formerly deposed and sent for England: yet now returning againe, graced by the title of Captaines of the passengers, seeing the Admirall wanting, and great probabilitie of her losse: strengthned themselves with those new Companies, so railing and exclayming against Captaine Smith, that they mortally hated him, ere ever they saw him. Who understanding by his Scowts, the arrivall of such a fleet (little dreaming of any such supply) supposing them Spaniards, he so determined and ordered his affaires, as we little feared their arrivall, nor the successe of our incounter, nor were the Savages any way negligent or unwilling, to aide and assist us with their best power, had it so beene, we had beene happy. For we would not have trusted them but as our foes, whereas receiving those as our

The Savages offer to fight under our colours.

Mutinie. Countrimen and friends, they did their best to murder our President, to surprize the store, the Fort, and our Lodgings, to usurpe the government, and make us all their servants and slaves to our owne merit. To a thousand mischiefes those lewd Captaines led this lewd company, wherein were many unruly Gallants packed thether by their friends to escape ill Destinies, and those would dispose and determine of the government, sometimes one, the next day another, to day the old Commission, to morrow the new, the next day by neither. In fine, they would rule all or ruine all; yet in Charitie wee must endure them thus to destroy us, or by correcting their follies, have brought the Worlds censure upon us to have beene guiltie of their blouds. Happie had we beene had they never arrived; and wee for ever abandoned, and (as wee were) left to our fortunes, for on Earth was never more confusion, or misery, then their factions occasioned.

The planting Nansamund. The President seeing the desire those Braves had to rule, seeing how his authoritie was so unexpectedly changed, would willingly have left all and returned for England, but seeing there was small hope this new Commission would arrive, longer hee would not suffer those factious spirits to proceed. It would be too tedious, too strange, and almost incredible, should I particularly relate the infinite dangers, plots, and practises, hee daily escaped amongst this factious crue, the chiefe whereof hee quickly laid by the heeles, till his leasure better served to doe them Justice; and to take away all occasions of further mischiefe, Master Percie had his request granted to returne for England, and Master West with one hundred and twentie went to plant at the Falls, Martin with neere as many to Nansamund, with their due proportions of all provisions, according to their numbers.

A plantation of the fals.

Now the Presidents yeere being neere expired, he made Martin President, who knowing his owne insufficiencie, and the Companies scorne and conceit of his unworthinesse, within three houres resigned it againe to Captaine Smith, and at Nansamund thus proceeded. The people

being Contributors used him kindly: yet such was his jealous feare, and cowardize in the midst of his mirth, he did surprize this poore naked King, with his Monuments, Houses, and the Ile hee inhabited; and there fortified himselfe, but so apparantly distracted with feare, as imboldned the Savages to assault him, kill his men, redeeme their King, gather and carrie away more then one thousand bushels of Corne, he not once daring to intercept them. But sent to the President then at the Falls for thirtie good shot, which from James Towne immediately were sent him, but he so well imployed them, as they did just nothing, but returned, complayning of his childishnesse, that with them fled from his company, and so left them to their fortunes. *The breach of peace with the Savages.* [IV. ix. 1730.]

Master West having seated his men at the Falls, presently returned to revisit James Towne, the President met him by the way as hee followed him to the Falls: where hee found this Company inconsiderately seated, in a place not only subject to the Rivers inundation, but round invironed with many intollerable inconveniences. For remedy whereof, hee sent presently to Powhatan, to sell him the place called Powhatan, promising to defend him against the Monacans, and these should be his conditions (with his people) to resigne him the Fort and Houses, and all that Countrey for a proportion of Copper: that all stealing offenders should bee sent him, there to receive their punishment: that every House as a custome should pay him a bushell of Corne for an inch square of Copper, and a proportion of Pocones as a yeerely Tribute to King James, for their protection as a dutie: what else they could spare to barter at their best discretion. *Powhatan sold for Copper.*

But both this excellent place and those good conditions did those furies refuse, contemning both him, his kinde care and authoritie, the worst they could to shew their spight, they did. I doe more then wonder to thinke how only with five men, hee either durst, or would adventure as he did (knowing how greedie they were of his bloud) to land amongst them, and commit *Mutinies.*

to imprisonment the greatest spirits amongst them, till
Five suppresse 120. by their multitudes being one hundred and twentie, they forced him to retire, yet in that retreat he surprized one of the Boats, wherewith he returned to their ship, wherein was their provisions, which also he tooke. And well it chanced he found the Mariners so tractable and constant, or there had beene small possibilitie hee had ever escaped. Notwithstanding there were many of the best, I meane, of the most worthy in judgement, reason or experience, that from their first landing hearing the generall good report of his old Souldiers, and seeing with their eyes his actions so well mannaged with discretion, as Captaine Wood, Captaine Web, Captaine Moone, Captaine Phitz-James, Master Partridge, Master White, Master Powell, and divers others; when they perceived the malice and condition of Ratcliffe, Martin, and Archer, left their factions; and ever rested his faithfull friend: But the
The breach of peace with the Savages at the Falls. worst was, the poore Savages that daily brought in their contribution to the President, that disorderly company so tormented those poore naked soules, by stealing their Corne, robbing their Gardens, beating them, breaking their Houses, and keeping some prisoners; that they daily complayned to Captaine Smith, hee had brought them for Protectors worse enemies then the Monacans themselves, which though till then (for his love) they had indured: they desired pardon, if hereafter they defended themselves, since hee would not correct them, as they had long expected he would: so much they importuned him to punish their misdemeanours, as they offered (if he would conduct them) to fight for him against them. But having spent nine dayes in seeking to reclaime them, shewing them how much they did abuse themselves, with their great gilded hopes, of Seas, Mynes, Commodities, or Victories they so madly conceived. Then (seeing nothing would prevaile with them) hee set saile for James Towne: now no
An assault by the Savages. sooner was the ship under saile but the Savages assaulted those one hundred and twentie in their Fort, finding some stragling abroad in the Woods they slue many, and so

affrighted the rest, as their prisoners escaped, and they scarce retyred, with the Swords and Clokes, of these they had slaine. But ere we had sailed a league our ship grounding, gave us once more libertie to summon them to a parlie. Where we found them all so strangely amazed with this poore simple assault, as they submitted themselves upon any tearmes to the Presidents mercy. Who presently put by the heeles six or seven of the chiefe offenders, the rest he seated gallantly at Powhatan, in their Savage Fort they built and pretily fortified with Poles and Barkes of Trees sufficient to have defended them from all their Savages in Virginia, dry Houses for Lodgings three hundred Acres of ground readie to plant, and no place so strong, so pleasant and delightfull in Virginia, for which wee called it None-such. The Savages also he presently appeased; redelivering to every one their former losses. Thus all were friends, new Officers appointed to command, and the President againe ready to depart. But at that instant arrived Master West, whose good nature with the perswasions and compassion of those mutinous prisoners was so much abused, that to regaine their old shops new turmoyles arose. For the rest being possessed of all their Victuall, Munition, and every thing, they grow to that height in their former factions, as there the President left them to their Fortunes, they returning againe to the open Aire at West Fort, abandoning Non-such, and hee to James Towne with his best Expedition, but this happened him in that Journey.

The planting of Nonsuch. New peace concluded.

Sleeping in his Boat (for the Ship was returned two dayes before) accidentally, one fired his Powder-bag, which tore his flesh from his bodie and thighes, nine or ten inches square in a most pittifull manner: but to quench the tormenting fire frying him in his clothes, hee leaped overboard into the deepe River, where ere they could recover him hee was neere drowned. In this estate, without either Chirurgion, or Chirurgerie he was to goe neere one hundred miles. Arriving at James Towne, causing all things to be prepared for Peace or Warres to obtaine

Cap. Smith blowne up with powder.

provision, whilest those things were providing, Martin, Ratcliffe, and Archer, being to have their trialls, their guiltie consciences fearing a just reward for their deserts, seeing the President unable to stand, and neere bereft of his senses by reason of his torment, they had plotted to have murdered him in his bed. But his heart did faile him that should have given fire to that mercilesse Pistoll. So, not finding that course to be the best, they joyned together to usurpe the government, thereby to escape their punishment, and excuse themselves by accusing him. The President had notice of their projects: the which to withstand, though his old Souldiers importuned him, but to permit them to take off their heads that would resist his command, yet he would not permit them: but sent for the Masters of ships, and tooke order with them for his returne for England. Seeing there was neither Chirurgion, nor Chirurgery in the Fort to cure his hurt, and the ships to depart the next day, his Commission to be suppressed hee knew not why, himselfe and Souldiers to bee rewarded he knew not how, and a new Commission granted they knew not to whom, the which so disabled that authoritie he had, as made them presume so oft to those mutinies and factions as they did. Besides, so grievous was his wounds, and so cruell his torment, few expected he could live, nor was he able to follow his businesse to regaine what they had lost, suppresse those factions, and range the Countries for provision as he intended, and well he knew those affaires his owne actions and presence was as requisite as his experience, and directions, which now could not be, hee went presently aboard, resolving there to appoint them governours, and to take order for the mutiners and their confederates. Who seeing him gone, perswaded Master Persie to stay and be their President, and within lesse then an hour was this mutation begun & concluded. For when the Company understood Smith would leave them, and see the rest in Armes called Presidents and Councellors, divers began to fawne on those new Commanders, that now bent all their wits to get him resigne them his Com-

A bloudy intent.

The government usurped.

The causes why Smith left the Countrie and his Commission.

mission, who after many salt and bitter repulses, that their confusion should not bee attributed to him, for leaving the Country without government and authoritie; having taken order to be free from danger of their malice; he was not unwilling they should steale it from him, but never consented to deliver it to any.

The state of the Colony, when C. Smith left it. Provisions left.

Leaving us thus, with three Ships, seven Boats, commodities readie to trade, the Harvest newly gathered, ten weekes provision in the store, foure hundred nintie and odde persons, foure and twentie Peeces of Ordnance, three hundred Muskets, Snaphanches, and fire-lockes, Shot, Powder, and match sufficient, Curats, Pikes, Swords, and Morions more then men: the Savages their language and habitations well knowne to one hundred well trained and expert Souldiers: Nets for Fishing, Tooles of all sorts to worke, Apparell to supply our wants, sixe Mares, and a Horse, five or sixe hundred Swine, as many Hennes and Chickens; some Goates, some Sheepe, what was brought or bred there remained: but they regarded nothing but from hand to mouth, to consume what wee had, tooke care for nothing but to perfit some colourable complaints against Captaine Smith, for effecting whereof, three weekes longer they staied the sixe Ships till they could produce them. That time and charge might much better have beene spent; but it suted well with the rest of their discretions. Now all these which Smith had either whipped, punished, or any way disgraced, had free power and libertie to say or sweare any thing, and from a whole armefull of their examination, this was concluded.

Their complaints and proofe against him.

The Mutiners at The Falls, complained he caused the Savages to assault them, for that he would not revenge their losse, they being but one hundred and twentie, and hee five men and himselfe, and this they proved by the oath of one hee had oft whipped for perjury and pilfering. The Dutch-men that hee had appointed to be stab'd for their treacheries, swore he sent to poison them with Rats-bane. The prudent Councell, that he would not submit himselfe to their stolne authoritie. Coe and Dyer, that

should have murdered him, were highly preferred for swearing, they heard one say, he heard Powhatan say, That hee heard a man say: if the King would not send that Corne hee had, hee should not long enjoy his Copper Crowne, nor those Robes hee had sent him: yet those also swore he might have had Corne for Tooles, but would not. The truth was, Smith had no such Engines as the King demanded, nor Powhatan any Corne. Yet this argued he would starve them. Others complained hee would not let them rest in the Fort (to starve) but forced them to the Oyster Bankes to live or starve, as hee lived himselfe. For though hee had of his owne private provisions sent from England, sufficient: yet hee gave it all away to the weake and sicke, causing the most untoward (by doing as he did) to gather their food from the unknowne parts of the Rivers and Woods, that they lived (though hardly) that otherwayes would have starved, ere they would have left their beds, or at the most the sight of James Towne to have got their owne victuall. Some propheticall spirit calculated he had the Savages in such subjection, he would have made himselfe a King, by marrying Pocahontas, Powhatans daughter. It is true, she was the very nonparell of his Kingdome, and at most not past thirteene or fourteene yeeres of age. Very oft she came to our Fort, with what shee could get for Captaine Smith, that ever loved and used all the Countrey well, but her especially hee ever much respected: and shee so well requited it, that when her father intended to have surprized him, she by stealth in the darke night came through the wild Woods and told him of it. But her marriage could no way have entitled him by any right to the Kingdome, nor was it ever suspected he had ever such a thought, or more regarded her, or any of them, then in honest reason and discretion he might. If he would he might have married her, or have done what him listed. For there was none that could have hindred his determination. Some that knew not any thing to say, the Councell instructed, and advised what to sweare. So

Pocahontas, Powhatans daughter, her kindnesse to C. Smith.

diligent they were in this businesse, that what any could remember, he had ever done, or said in mirth, or passion, by some circumstantiall oath, it was applyed to their fittest use, yet not past eight or nine could say much, and that nothing but circumstances, which all men did know was most false and untrue. Many got their Passes, by promising in England to say much against him. Instead of accusing him, I have never heard any give him a better report, then many of those witnesses themselves that were sent only home to testifie against him. Richard Pots, W. P.

The day before the Ships departed, C. Davis arrived in a small Pinnace, with some sixteene proper men more: to those were added a company from James Towne, under the command of Captaine Ratcliffe, to inhabite Point-Comfort. Martin, and Master West having lost their Boats, and neere halfe their men amongst the Savages, were returned to James Towne. For the Savages no sooner understood of Captaine Smiths losse, but they all revolted, and did murder and spoile all they could encounter. Now were wee all constrained to live onely of that which Smith had onely for his owne company, for the rest had consumed their proportions. And now have wee twentie Presidents, with all their appurtenances, for Master Persie was so sicke he could not goe nor stand. But ere all was consumed, Master West, and Ratliffe, each with a Pinnace, and thirtie or fortie men well appointed, sought abroad to trade, and upon confidence of Powhatan, Ratliffe and his men were slaine, onely Jeffery Shortridge escaped, and Pochahuntas the Kings daughter saved a boy, called Henry Spelman, who lived many yeeres after by her meanes amongst the Patawomekes. Powhatan still as hee found meanes, cut off their Boats and denied them trade. And Master West finding little better successe, set saile for England. Now we all found the want of Captaine Smith, yea his greatest maligners could then curse his losse. Now for corne, provision, and contribution from the Savages; wee had

The planting at Point Comfort.

Ratlife alias Sicklemore slain by Powhatan.

nothing but mortall wounds with Clubs and Arrowes. As for our Hogs, Goats, Sheepe, Horse, or what lived, our Commanders and Officers did daily consume them: some small proportions (sometimes) wee tasted till all was devoured, then Swords, Arrowes, Peeces, or any thing we traded to the Savages, whose bloudy fingers were so imbrued in our blouds, that what by their crueltie, our Governours indiscretion, and the losse of our Ships: Of five hundred, within sixe moneths after there remained not any more then sixtie most miserable and poore creatures. It were to vild to say what wee endured, Life was now preserved by Roots, Herbs, Acornes, Walnuts, Berries, now and then a little Fish, and Starch by such as had any. A Savage slaine and buried, is said to have beene taken up by the poorer and eaten: which is reported also to have hapned to others of their owne. A report was that one slew his wife, and had eaten part of her: this is by others denied, the murther acknowledged, and he justly executed for that parricide.

Wickednes of some Mariners. The fruits of improvidences.

The occasion of these miseries was onely our owne, for want of providence, industrie, and government, and not the barrennesse and defect of the Countrey, as is generally supposed, for till then in three yeeres (for the numbers were landed us) wee had never landed sufficient provision for sixe moneths, such a glutton is the Sea, and such good fellowes the Mariners, wee as little tasted of those great proportions for their provisions, as they of our miseries, that notwithstanding ever swayd and overruled the businesse: though wee did live as is said, three yeeres chiefly of what this good Countrey naturally affordeth: yet now had wee beene in Paradice it selfe (with those Governours) it would not have beene much better with us, yet were there some amongst us, who had they had the government, would surely have kept us from those extreamities of miseries, that in ten dayes more would have supplanted us all by death. Thus you see the miserable ends of those usurping Commanders, for all their greatnesse, Oratory, and long being there, and what is the want of owne man

in Authoritie, that is honest and valiant, discreet, and industrious; and how easily that may also be blemished, by ambitious indiscretion, or what did hinder them now in his absence, they had not done much better then hee, having all these advantages.

The arrivall of Sir Tho. Gates with 150.

But God that would not it should bee unplanted, sent Sir Thomas Gates, and Sir George Summers, with one hundred and fiftie men, most happily preserved by the Bermudas to preserve us. But when those noble Knights did see our miseries (being strangers in the Countrey) and could understand no more of the cause but by their conjecture of our clamours and complaints, of accusing or excusing one another, they imbarked us with themselves, with the best meanes they could, and abandoning James Towne, set saile for England.

James Towne abandoned.

The arrivall of the Lord La-ware.

But yet God would not so have it, for ere wee left the River; wee met the Lord de-la-ware, then governour of the Countrey, with three Ships exceeding well furnished with all necessaries fitting, who againe returned them to the abandoned James Towne, the ninth of June, 1610. accompanied with Sir Ferdinando Wainman, and divers other Gentlemen of sort. Sir George Sommers, and Captaine Argall he presently dispatcheth to repaire to the Bermudas, to furnish them with provision: Sir Thomas Gates for England to helpe forward their supplies: himselfe neglected not the best was in his power for the furtherance of the businesse, and regaining what was lost. But even in the beginning of his proceedings, his Lordship had such an incounter, that after eight months sicknesse, he was forced to save his life, by his returne for England.

Two ships sent to the Bermudas.

In this time Argall, not finding the Bermudas, having lost Sir George Somers at sea, fell on the coast of Sagadahock, where refreshing himselfe, he found a convenient fishing for Cod. With a taste whereof he returned to James Towne, from whence the Lord De-la-ware sent him to trade in the River of Patawomeck, where finding an English boy those people had preserved from the fury of Powhatan, by his acquaintance had such good usage of

those kind Savages, that they fraughted his Ship with Corne, wherewith he returned to James Towne, and so for England with the Lord Governour; yet before his returne, the adventurers had sent Sir Thomas Dale with three Ships, men and cattell, and all other provisions necessarie for a yeere, all which arrived the tenth of May, 1611.

The arrival of Sir Tho. Dale.

Againe, to second him with all possible expedition there was prepared for Sir Thomas Gates, sixe tall Ships with three hundred men, and one hundred Kine, with other cattell, with munition, and all manner of provision could be thought needfull, and they arrived about the first of August next after safely at James Towne.

Sir George Somers arrivall at the Bermudas, and dieth.

Sir George Somers all this time was supposed lost: but thus it hapned, missing the Barmudas, hee fell also as did Argall with Sagadahock, where being refreshed, would not content himselfe with that repulse, but returned againe in the search, and there safely arrived. But overtoyling himselfe on a surfet died. And in this Cedar Ship built by his owne directions, and partly with his owne hands, that had not in her any Iron, but onely one bolt in her Keele, yet well endured thus tossed to and againe in this mightie Ocean, till with his dead bodie she arrived in England, and at Whitchurch in Dorsetshire, his body by his friends was honourably buried, with manie volies of shot, and the rites of a Souldier, &c.

His heart and entralls were buried in Summer Ilands, a name from his to them communicated.

But thus much may serve as the argument of the discourses following, and as the Prologue to the Virginian Scene, where we will first produce M. Archer, after whose succinct narration, M. Strachies copious discourse shall feast you with the lively expression of others miseries, and Barmudas happy discovery in Rhetorickes Full sea and spring tide.

END OF VOLUME XVIII.

VIRGINIA
Massawomecks
MONACANS
MANNAHOACKS
POWHATAN
PATOWOMACK
CHAWONS
KUSKARAWAOKS
CHESAPEAK BAY
THE VIRGINIAN SEA
Scale of Leagues
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